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VOLUME V

BY WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.

NOTES ON EUROPEAN HISTORY

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NOTES
ON
EUROPEAN HISTORY

BY
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VOLUME V
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PREFACE

THE Franco-German War was one of the great dividing lines of modern history. The problems of nationality and the assertion of Liberal doctrines, which marked the earlier years of the century, continued to engage the attention of politicians, but new problems of great importance arose. Western Europe remained free from war from 1871 to 1914, but the Eastern Question not only caused warfare in the Balkans but profoundly affected the Great Powers; world politics led the States of Europe to extend their influence in Asia and Africa; Socialism spread rapidly and became an important factor in economics and politics.

Since 1871 European history has become, to a considerable extent, world history. The development of manufactures and commerce and the increase in population led to a desire to secure colonies which would supply raw material, afford markets for manufactured goods and provide homes for superfluous population. Much of Africa had been secured by Great Britain, which was anxious to get more, but Germany, France, Belgium and Portugal strove to extend their colonial empire, and national rivalry abroad had important effects on the mutual relations of the European States. Russia, Germany and, to a less extent, France tried to wrest from Great Britain the predominance she had secured in the Far East. But the

stubborn, if at times passive, resistance of China and the vigour of Japan, which adopted European methods to resist European aggression, limited the expansion of Europe in the Far East ; while the defeat of Russia by Japan encouraged Austria, supported by Germany, to adopt an aggressive policy in the Balkans and led Russia to strengthen her position by making an alliance with France.

World politics were cosmopolitan ; they raised new problems of government and led to the assertion of two distinct principles. To Germany world politics meant world sovereignty. She wished to strengthen her hold on Africa not only in the interests of German manufactures and commerce, but also because a strong position in Africa would enable her better to protect the flank of Asiatic Turkey and afford a basis of operations in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. When this policy proved ineffective she endeavoured to extend her influence by securing a new overland route to the East ; the Bagdad Railway was an important factor in *Weltpolitik*. The opposite theory of world confederacy involved the idea of a Law of Nations binding on all States, and of this idea the Hague Conference of 1907, and still more the League of Nations, may be regarded as expressions.

Although Western Europe enjoyed peace from 1871 to 1914 the Eastern Question led to warfare in the Balkans, and the conflicting interests of Turkey, Greece and the Balkan States had important effects on the Great Powers. The Eastern Question arose from the presence in Europe of the alien Turkish Empire. From 1683, when John Sobieski saved Vienna, the power of Turkey had grown weaker. Russia was anxious to take advantage of the weakness of the " sick

man " to secure Constantinople and the command of the Straits ; the separate parts of the Empire, inspired by the desire for national liberty, the orthodox Greek Faith and resentment at the oppression of the Turks, determined to use the opportunity to establish themselves as independent States. Great Britain wished at first to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire as a barrier against Russian aggression, but the refusal of the Sultans to inaugurate promised reforms cost Turkey the support of Great Britain. Austria, which since 1879 had been in alliance with Germany, wished to carry out her policy of *Drang nach Osten* at the expense of Serbia, which by advocating the establishment of a Slav Empire of Serbia and Croatia endeavoured to check the extension of Austria to the south-east and gave strong encouragement to the Slav cause, which seemed likely to make Austria a Triple instead of a Dual Empire. Germany attempted, with a considerable measure of success, to conciliate Turkey and so secure concessions in Asia Minor. The problem of the Near East accentuated the differences between the *Triple Entente* and the Triple Alliance and thus made inevitable the Great War, of which the quarrel between Austria and Serbia was the immediate cause.

New conditions led to the renewal of the idea of the Balance of Power in a new form. In ancient Greece and the mediaeval cities of Northern Italy leagues of cities had been formed to check the power of an over-mighty neighbour. In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries attempts were made to form national alliances against any Power which seemed likely to establish supremacy in Western Europe. Now an attempt was made to preserve peace by a balance

of two national leagues. The attempt secured for a time the peace of Western Europe, but it proved an armed peace which, after a European war had several times been narrowly averted, led to the great struggle of 1914.

In spite of the development of Cosmopolitanism which was involved in the idea of World Politics, nationality remained an important factor in the politics of Europe. In the larger States the problem of nationality had been settled by 1871, but national feeling helped to stimulate the resistance to Turkey of Roumania, Serbia and Bulgaria, and has profoundly affected the recent history of Poland, Finland, Norway and Ireland.

European politics were further complicated by Racialism—the theory that men of common stock had common interests. At one time Pan-Germanism seemed likely to exercise considerable influence on the foreign politics of Germany. Pan-Slavism was a distinct factor in the Eastern Question; Russia posed as the leading Slav State and greatly strengthened her influence over the Slav States of the Balkans; Pan-Slavism underlay the attempt of Serbia to form a Slav Empire, and the fear that such an Empire might include the Austrian Slavs added to the serious domestic problems of Austro-Hungary. It is possible that the attempt of Russia to extend her authority in Central Asia was partly due to the fact that the Tartars of Southern Russia were of common origin with the Tartars of Turkestan.

In this period the influence of Germany has been predominant. The Franco-German War established her military power and Bismarck's later diplomacy gave her security, although France never became reconciled to the loss of Alsace-

Lorraine. The influence of Germany was greatly strengthened by the Dual Alliance she made with Austria in 1879, but the Dual Alliance proved one of the causes of the division of Europe into two camps owing to the resentment felt by France and Russia at German aggression.

After Bismarck resigned in 1890 Germany definitely adopted a policy of World Power, and therefore came into opposition with Great Britain in the Far East, with France in Morocco, and with Russia in the Balkans. As a result the *Triple Entente* was formed in 1907; the policy of Germany compelled her opponents to take a "further step towards Armageddon."

The domestic history of the European States since 1871 has been mainly concerned with the extension of democracy. Some attempts have been made to restore absolute rule, and the Roman Catholic Church, particularly in France, has tended to support such attempts in the hope that the restoration of absolutism would enable her to maintain her old rights and privileges. But all such attempts have failed, and the extension of the franchise, which has frequently led to the establishment of universal suffrage, has strengthened popular control over the government. The need of educating our masters has led to a remarkable development of State education in all its branches.

The evils necessarily arising from the rapid growth of manufactures and commerce have made Social Reform an urgent question. Extreme Socialists have endeavoured to secure their objects by force, but with little success in Western Europe. The extension of the franchise has led to the election of many Labour Members of Parliament, and these have tried

to use the authority of the State to secure the reform of social evils. There is a growing tendency for the old political parties to become merged in either the Conservatives or the Democrats. Both admit the need of reform ; they are divided on the questions of the rate at which reforms should be introduced and of the extent to which State action should supersede the activities of individual citizens.

Each subject in this volume is treated as fully as space permits, and this has occasionally led to the repetition of material common to two or more sections. The number of details is necessarily large, but wherever possible details have been related to the historical principles they illustrate. Full accounts have been given of the leading characters of the period, and an effort has been made to show the relations between great men and great movements.

This book is designed to help students who are preparing for the Higher Local or Higher Certificate Examinations, for scholarships in Modern History or for the history papers set in connection with the various University Examinations. But the author hopes that the book will prove useful also to students of history who are not taking the subject in preparation for some examination. He will be very grateful to any readers who care to make suggestions for the correction and improvement of this book.

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SECTION I

FRANCE. 1871-1914

EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE GOVERNMENT OF THIERS, FEBRUARY 1871–MAY 24TH, 1873

February 17th, 1871. By the *Pacte de Bordeaux* the National Assembly appointed Thiers, who had been elected by twenty-four constituencies, "Chief of the Executive of the French Republic." He was to act under the supervision of the Assembly, but was empowered to negotiate with Germany and to choose his own ministers.

I. France and Germany.

A. The Treaty of Frankfort.

The first duty of the National Assembly was to decide the question of peace.

March 1st, 1871. The National Assembly confirmed the preliminaries of peace arranged by Thiers and Bismarck on February 26th.

May 10th, 1871. The Treaty of Frankfort formally ended the war. France ceded Alsace, except Belfort, and most of Lorraine; France agreed to pay five milliards of francs (£200,000,000) and the Germans were to hold French territory until all the indemnity was paid.

B. Dissatisfaction.

The National Assembly accepted the terms by 546 votes to 107. But the Extreme Left, led by Gambetta and Victor Hugo, strongly advocated the continuance

of the war and made *revanche* a part of their programme. Paris was strongly Republican and the Commune¹ was partly due to resentment at the cession of Alsace-Lorraine by the Assembly, which was largely Monarchist. Blanqui raised the cry of "Anything rather than the dismemberment of France."

C. Evacuation.

By the Treaty of Frankfort nearly one half of France was occupied by German troops as security for payment of the war indemnity.

Largely owing to the thrift of her peasant population France paid the indemnity far more easily than Bismarck expected or desired.

June 20th, 1871. The Assembly authorised a loan of two and a half milliard francs. Double this amount was offered by the people of France.

September, 1871. Payment of a milliard and a half to Germany, which evacuated two-thirds of the occupied territory.

July 15th, 1872. The Assembly authorised a further loan of three milliards; twenty-one milliards were subscribed in France and as much in foreign countries.

March, 1873. Thiers completed arrangements for the payment of the final instalment, which was not due until March 1st, 1875.

September, 1873. The Germans completed the evacuation of France, two years earlier than had been expected.

II. Religious Problems.

A. The Ultramontanes.

The Vatican Decrees of Pius IX² asserted the supremacy of the Pope as against the development of democracy,

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 309.

² *Ibid.*, pages 467-469.

of science and of national churches. They were welcomed by the Clerical Party in France, which had been strengthened by the return of the Monastic Orders and included many military and naval officers and State officials; military almoners were appointed to strengthen Catholicism in the army. The devotion of the faithful Catholics had been increased by the new cult of the Sacred Heart. The Clerical Party now desired to induce France to lead a crusade of the Church militant to defend the cause of the Church suffering against the new Kingdom of Italy. They wished to "save Rome and France in the name of the Sacred Heart," and in February, 1872, formed a Board of Pilgrimages which encouraged the faithful by conducting pilgrimages to the shrines of the Virgin at Lourdes, Puy and Chartres.

(1) The Ultramontanes and the Republic.

The Ultramontanes united with the Monarchists in hostility to Republican principles which were inconsistent with the Vatican Decrees. They seriously embarrassed Thiers by the violence of their attacks on the new Kingdom of Italy and on the *Kulturkampf* which Bismarck was waging against the Roman Catholics in Germany.

(2) The Ultramontanes and Education.

The Church had secured great advantages for Catholic primary and secondary schools by the Falloux Law of 1850.¹ It now tried to weaken the authority of the State in education and set up free Catholic schools in opposition to those of the State.

December, 1871. It strongly opposed Jules Simon's scheme for compulsory elementary education.

March, 1872. It demanded the abolition of the Normal School and elected Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, the most violent of the Ultramontane bishops, to the Council of the University of Paris.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 234.

B. Anti-Clericalism.

A strong party in France resisted the Ultramontanes. The growing successes of the Republicans from June, 1871, to January, 1872, were partly due to resentment at the policy of the Church.

(1) The Development of Lay Education.

Many felt that the victory of Germany had been largely due to the progress of science. The development of lay education was a means of resistance to both Germany and Ultramontaniam.

February 19th, 1871. Thiers made Jules Simon Minister of Public Education. He aimed at "the organisation of studies and of intellectual life in all its branches" and was ably supported by Paul Bert and Jules Ferry. Science became an important weapon of these educationists; the lycées were re-organised; a scheme of university reform was inaugurated.

November 29th, 1871. Establishment of the Free School of Political Sciences.

(2) The Development of Free Thought.

The teaching of Renan, Comte and Littré; the development of a more accurate scientific method which owed much to Germany; the growth of Positivism, which was based solely on positive facts or observed phenomena and refused to recognise supernatural power, and which found expression in Comte's *System of Positive Politics*, 1854; the efforts of Freemasons, who were tending towards Positivism and supported the cause of democracy and the advancement of secular education, all united to form "a body of resolute, trained and officially recognised adversaries of Ultramontaniam in France."

III. The Problem of the Constitution.

The National Assembly was not a Constituent Assembly; it was not charged with the duty of drawing

up a new constitution. The arrangement made by the *Pacte de Bordeaux* was provisional only, but the need of completing the negotiations with Germany made the continuance of Thiers' authority temporarily essential. His successful efforts to secure the evacuation of France gave an opportunity for the settlement of the Constitution.

A. Rival Parties.

(1) The Monarchists.

Four hundred out of the 630 deputies who formed the National Assembly were Monarchists, elected largely by the votes of the peasants, who were anxious for peace and feared that the return of a Republican majority would mean a continuance of the war. The Parisians resented the transfer of political power from Paris to the country districts, and their fear that the majority would re-establish Monarchy was one of the causes of the Commune. The Monarchists used their majority to cancel the sentence of exile which had been passed on the Duc d'Aumâle and the Prince de Joinville, the sons of Louis Philippe, and to approve of the election of these princes as deputies to the Assembly.

But the Monarchists were weakened by divisions.

a. The Orleanists. The Right Centre.

The Orleanists supported the claims of the Comte de Paris, the grandson of Louis Philippe.

b. The Legitimists. The Extreme Right.

The Legitimists favoured the Comte de Chambord (Henry V), grandson of Charles X, who was head of the elder Bourbon line.

c. The Bonapartists.

In spite of the deposition of Napoleon III on September 4th, 1870, some Bonapartists wished to make the Prince Imperial King.

(2) The Republicans.

The Republicans, although inferior in numbers to the Monarchists as a whole, were larger than any one of the monarchical sections. They secured the election of Jules Grévy as President of the Assembly. Bismarck favoured the establishment of a Republic in France because he thought that "a Republic would find it more difficult to obtain allies than a Monarchy."

a. The Commune.

The Commune had strengthened the cause of the Republic by showing "the fierce determination of the capital of France not to see the re-establishment of the Monarchy."¹

b. Republicanism tends towards Socialism.

The Commune had broken the Labour Party, but Republicans like Louis Blanc advocated a policy of social reform, while labour leaders, seeing that they could accomplish nothing by themselves, tended towards alliance with the Republicans who supported social reform. The working classes recognised the power that universal suffrage gave them and resolved to secure their ends by Parliamentary methods and not, as in the Commune, by force. "From July, 1871, the artisan class formed the chief support of the political programme and aims of the Republican party."²

The more moderate Republicans formed the Left Centre.

c. The Extreme Left.

The extreme Republicans advocated the liberation of Alsace, demanded a new Assembly in which the sovereignty of the people should be asserted, warmly welcomed "the coming

Grant and Temperley, page 359.

² *Cambridge Modern History.*

into politics of a new social stratum." The eloquent speeches of their leader, Gambetta, "the commercial traveller of the Republic," won much support in the country.

(3) Thiers.

Thiers, essentially a representative of the middle class, had supported the Orleanist Monarchy and had held office under Louis Philippe as President of the Council in 1840.¹ He personally favoured constitutional monarchy but considered that the existence of three candidates for the throne rendered Monarchy impossible—"there is only one throne; three men cannot sit on it at the same time." But he saw that "the Democracy of France after all its experiments and failures in Monarchy, could no longer trust any one but itself"²; asserted that "the Republic is the government which divides us least," and advocated the establishment of a Conservative Republic.

B. Progress towards a Republic.

Thiers' attitude provoked the enmity both of the Extreme Right and the Extreme Left, but he alone could negotiate with Bismarck and his position was assured until the negotiations were completed.

(1) The Left Centre.

Partly owing to Gambetta's eloquence, partly owing to the belief that the Republic, founded on universal suffrage, stood for democratic principles, the demand for the dissolution of the Assembly and the establishment of a Constituent Assembly grew strong. By January, 1872, a hundred additional anti-Monarchical deputies had been elected. But the middle classes still feared that Republicanism meant danger to property and religion.

The government was Parliamentary and the support of a majority of the Assembly was essential for the

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 207.

² Bourgeois.

success of the Ministry. That support was secured largely owing to the action of the Left Centre.

The Left Centre, which opposed the extremists of the Right, who desired to re-establish Monarchy, and those of the Left who tended towards Socialism, played a most important part at this time. They favoured the establishment of a Republic which the nation demanded but wished that Republic to be Conservative. They supported Thiers, removed the fear of the middle classes, and conciliated the country. Their leader was the Republican General Chancy, but many of the members, such as Casimir-Périer, Remusat and Rivet, had been Orleanists.

(2) The Rivet Law.

August 31st, 1871. The Assembly passed the Rivet Law which provided that Thiers should take the title of President of the Republic and, like the Ministers whom he could appoint and dismiss, be responsible to the Assembly.

Although the operation of the Rivet Law was limited to the duration of the Assembly it was a distinct step towards the establishment of a Republic.

(3) The Struggle between Thiers and the Monarchists.

- a. November 13th, 1872. Thiers demanded that the Assembly should approve of the principle of a Republic.
- b. November 18th, 1872. The Monarchists, enraged at Thiers' demand, appointed a Commission to censure the President's policy.
- c. November 29th, 1872. Thiers, strongly supported by the Left Centre, secured the appointment of a Commission of thirty to draw up a new Constitution.

(4) Thiers approached the Right Centre.

Thiers, in order to strengthen his position, now made overtures to the Right Centre, or Orleanists, who

formed the majority of the newly-appointed Commission. He relinquished his right of addressing the Assembly at his pleasure, made Orleanists Ministers of the Interior and of Public Works.

December 4th, 1872. Thiers allowed Dufaure to attack Gambetta and the Left.

January 9th, 1873. The Government proposed to restore the property of the Orleans family which had been confiscated in 1852.

(5) The Fall of Thiers.

But Thiers soon found that he would get no support from the Right Centre, and that his recent actions had alienated the Left Centre. The Monarchists endeavoured unsuccessfully, in January, 1873, to reconcile the Comte de Chambord and the Comte de Paris and so to facilitate the re-establishment of the Monarchy; the Clerical Party tried to secure French intervention in Italy on behalf of the Pope. The Monarchists united to attack Thiers and the Republicans.

April 2nd, 1873. They made Buffet President of the Assembly instead of the Republican Grévy.

April 27th, 1873. Paris, alarmed by Thiers' approach to the Right Centre, rejected his candidate, Remusat.

May 18th, 1873. Thiers, returning to his former policy, formed a Left Centre Ministry and demanded that a Republic with a President and two Chambers should be formally established. All the Monarchists, including the Right Centre, united to resist the establishment of a Republic.

May 24th, 1873. Led by the Duc de Broglie the Monarchists asserted that the Republic stood for "Radicalism, anarchy and moral chaos," and, owing to the defection of the Target group which had hitherto supported Thiers, carried by 360 votes to 344 a motion urging the President to adopt "a resolutely conservative policy." Consequent resignation of Thiers.

IV. The Reorganisation of France.

A. Local Government.

(1) Municipal.

April 14th, 1871. The Law of Municipalities gave to the municipalities of villages and towns of less than 20,000 inhabitants the power of electing mayors and councillors and the control of local public service, taxation, roads and police.

(2) Departmental.

August 10th, 1871. The Law of Councils-General of Departments provided that each Council-General should meet publicly twice every year and should elect its own President, maintain roads and levy taxes for local expenditure. The Departmental Commission was a committee elected by the Council-General to exercise general supervision over the Department during the intervals between the sessions of the Council-General.

(3) Criticism.

These measures carried out the programme of decentralisation which the Liberals had adopted before 1871 and weakened the influence of Paris on French politics.

Thiers feared that they would weaken the unity of France and unduly limit the authority of Ministers.

The new bodies generally proved strong supporters of the Republic.

They did much, particularly by the construction of roads, to promote the development of agriculture and improved the position of the peasant proprietors, to whom the reconstruction of France was largely due.

B. Military.

Thiers, realising the need of protecting France from invasion and enabling her to live and work in peace, reorganised the military resources of the country with

the help of the Minister of War, General de Cissey. The National Guard was abolished. By April, 1872, the infantry, cavalry and artillery had been reorganised.

(1) Military Service.

July 27th, 1872. The Assembly accepted the Prussian principle of the nation in arms and made military service compulsory for all males between the ages of twenty and forty. They had to serve five years with the active army and four in its reserve, and five years in the territorial army and six in its reserve.

Priests, teachers and the eldest sons of widows were exempted from service. University graduates and others of sufficient academic attainment were liable for one year's active service and paid 1500 francs for their equipment.

The new conditions led to the establishment of an active army of 675,000 men and a reserve of 500,000.

(2) The Committee of Defence.

July 29th, 1872. A Committee of Defence was established. The Committee, in 1873, resolved to protect the eastern frontier by strengthening fortresses at Lille, Verdun, Belfort, Lyons and Grenoble and to construct a series of entrenched camps to guard Paris.

V. The Work of Thiers.

A. "The Liberator of the Territory."

The Assembly justly declared that Thiers, by freeing France from foreign occupation, had "deserved well of his country." Until the Germans evacuated France the establishment of her Government and the reorganisation of her resources could not be effected.

B. Thiers and the Republic.

Thiers saw that the French nation thought that "for you and me the Monarchy is impossible." Assisted by the remarkable industrial development¹ of the country

¹ Pages 53-56.

and the thrift of her peasants, which enabled her to bear the heavy taxation which the conditions of the time entailed, and by the friendly feeling of Great Britain and Russia,¹ he laid the foundations of the Conservative Republic which, he said, "causes the fewest divisions among us." The Conservative Republic averted the danger of civil war and was destined to become wider and more democratic in the future.

References :

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Lectures on the History of the Nineteenth Century, Cambridge University Press, Lecture IX, 1 : Thiers.

MACMAHON

MAY 24TH, 1873—JANUARY 30TH, 1879

May 24th, 1873. The Monarchical sections of the Assembly elected as President Marshal MacMahon, a Legitimist soldier with no experience of politics. They hoped to delay and ultimately to prevent the establishment of a Republic and to ensure the success of the Ultramontanes. The new Government was a "fighting Government"; it declared its intention of restoring the "moral order" of France and was called "The Moral Order."

The election of MacMahon was due to the union of the groups of the Right who wished to restore the Monarchy. The Left united to defend the Republic, "the lawful government of the people," and the lead was taken by the Conservative Republicans of the Left Centre who formed the bond between the Conservative Assembly and the Republican nation. MacMahon was more anxious to secure the success of the Ultramontanes than to restore the Monarchy, and had stated at his election "that existing institutions were outside criticism."

I. Failure of the Monarchists.

A. The Monarchists and the Administration.

The Monarchists tried to promote their cause by securing control of the Administration. Where possible they replaced Republican office-holders by Monarchists. They re-established the censorship of the press and of theatres. In 1874 they secured the power of appointing all mayors, not only, as in 1871, those of the chief towns. They ordered all civil servants to support Monarchical candidates.

B. The Comte de Chambord.

The Prince Imperial was too young to become a candidate. In August, 1873, the Monarchists were "fused" by the recognition of the childless Comte de Chambord as "Henri Quart" and of the Comte de Paris as his successor. Chambord met a Committee of nine which the Right had sent to interview him, but refused, in a letter of October 17th, 1873, to accept the tricolour, "a symbol of revolution," and insisted on retaining the white flag of the *ancien régime* as his emblem. His attitude ruined any chance of his succession; MacMahon declared that if the white flag was unfurled "the *chassepots* would go off of themselves," and refused to interview Chambord, who came to Versailles in November, 1873, in the hope of securing the throne.

C. The Law of the Septennate.

November 20th, 1873. By the Law of the Septennate the Assembly prolonged MacMahon's presidency for seven years. The Republicans, who were steadily gaining ground in the country, supported the law which averted the danger of the immediate restoration of the Monarchy; the Legitimists resented it for the same reason; the Bonapartists hoped that in seven years the Prince Imperial would have become a stronger candidate.

D. The Break-up of the Right.

(1) Weakening of Broglie's position.

January, 1874. Broglie tried by declaring thirty-two departments in a state of siege, by giving the President the right of dismissing mayors and by changing public officials to influence elections. But municipal and departmental elections showed that Republicanism was gaining ground and Broglie attempted to secure the help of the Bonapartists against the Republicans. His action irritated both the strict Legitimists and the Orleanists.

(2) A Bonapartist revival.

May 26th, 1874. Overthrow of Broglie's ministry owing to the defection of some of his Legitimist supporters. The Bonapartists sought to profit by the dissension that had arisen among the Monarchists and secured most of the posts in the new ministry formed by General de Cissey.

(3) The Left Centre strengthened.

Fear that Imperialism had now become a real danger led several Orleanists to support the Left Centre which had been greatly strengthened by the support of Thiers.

June 15th, 1874. Casimir-Périer persuaded the Assembly to assert by a majority of four votes the necessity of introducing legislation to establish a Republic with a President and two Chambers.

II. The Establishment of the Republic.

A. The Presidency.

The Legitimists regarded MacMahon's authority as personal only, and held that he might resign whenever a favourable opportunity occurred of restoring a

Legitimist King. The Orleanists held that the Presidency, although provisional, was not personal.

January 28th, 1875. The Assembly rejected a motion of the Left Centre that "The Government of the Republic is composed of two Chambers and a President," but on January 30th, 1875, a combination of the Left Centre and some Orleanists carried, by a majority of one, a motion which declared that the title of the head of the Government should be "President of the Republic," that he should be elected by absolute majority of the two Chambers for seven years and be eligible for re-election.

"A Monarchical Assembly, in deciding upon the regular and unlimited succession to the Presidency, had in effect established the Republic."¹

B. The Senate.

The Orleanists wished the Senate to be appointed by the President; the Left that it should be elected by universal suffrage.

Largely owing to the influence of the Left Centre and of MacMahon, who gave up the right of appointing senators on condition that the Left did not insist on election by universal suffrage, it was agreed, on February 24th, 1875, that deputies, members of departmental and district councils, and representatives of communes should elect 225 senators for nine years, and that 75 should be appointed for life, by the National Assembly in the first instance and afterwards by the Senate.

Gambetta called the Senate "The Great Council of the Communes of France."

C. The Chamber of Deputies.

February 25th, 1875. The National Assembly established a Chamber of Deputies elected by universal suffrage for four years.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History.*

D. Further Enactments defining the Constitution.

July 16th, **1875**. The mutual relations of different parts of the Government were defined.

August 2nd, **1875**. The Organic Law for the election of Senators.

November 30th, **1875**. The Organic Law for the election of Deputies.

E. Later Alterations.

August 18th, **1883**. Formal declaration "That the Republican form of government cannot be made the subject of a proposal for revision."

December, **1884**. The abolition of permanent Senators made the Senate a purely elective body.

III. The Republican Constitution.

The Law of the Septennate¹ and the Laws of **1875** established the Republican Constitution.

A. The President.

The President is a Constitutional King holding office for seven years but eligible for re-election. He is personally irresponsible but acts through his ministers, whom he appoints and who are responsible to the Chamber. He can dissolve the Chamber of Deputies with the approval of the Senate. Unlike a Constitutional King he has the right of presiding in the Council of Ministers.

B. The Senate and Chamber.**(1) The National Assembly.**

The Senate and Chamber combined form the National Assembly, which elects the President and has the power, after a separate assenting vote of both houses, of revising the Constitution.

¹ Page 15.

(2) Common power.

Both share full legislative power and can initiate laws ; vote war, peace and treaties ; interpellate ministers.

(3) Separate power.

The Senate has the power of voting the dissolution of the Chamber at the request of the President ; it forms a court of justice for the trial of political offenders.

The Budget must be introduced and voted upon first by the Chamber of Deputies.

(4) Sovereignty of the Chamber.

The Chamber of Deputies has practically become the sovereign power owing to its control of the Budget and the fact that ministers, though nominally subject to dismissal by the President, resign on an adverse vote of the Chamber.

C. Local Government.

The departmental and municipal councils kept considerable powers of self-government. But the prefects were appointed by the Central Government and local government became more centralised and less popular than in England.

D. General.

(1) A Constitutional Monarchy.

The Government of France became a Limited Constitutional Monarchy acting through responsible ministers. But the sovereign is elected and holds office only for seven years ; his power of dissolution is restricted ; the upper house is elected ; his office is largely ceremonial and those Presidents who have

tried to take an active part in politics have been unsuccessful. Although the President, unlike the King of England, presides at the Council of Ministers his actual influence is smaller than that of the King.

Political parties are less rigidly organised than in England; the government is the work of the whole Chamber and not of a dominant party; the defeat of a Ministry does not necessitate a general election. French Ministries have therefore proved less stable than English.

(2) A Compromise.

The Constitution was a compromise between the English Parliamentary Monarchy and the centralised democratic system instituted by Napoleon I.

The central administration and the departmental administration of the Prefects; the judicial organisation and the *Code Napoléon*; the administrative justice of the Councils of Prefecture and Councils of State; the ecclesiastical organisation; the University, the *lycées* and the revenue system were the chief parts of the Napoleonic system which were retained by the Third Republic.

All parties accept the doctrines of the sovereignty of the people, universal suffrage, freedom of the press and of public meeting and trial by jury. The supremacy acquired by the Chamber of Deputies has strengthened the democratic element.

(3) The expression of the National wish.

Although the Constitution was not the work of a Constituent Assembly and had come almost by accident and was due largely to disagreements between the Monarchical sections of the Assembly, it proved permanent because it was based on the determination of the nation to govern itself. The Constitution was the organised democracy of France. Gambetta asserted, "We have been accused of indulging in

compromise ; but men cannot be governed except by compromise. . . . Opportunism ? what does the name matter if the country approves of the thing ? ”

December 31st, 1875. Dissolution of the National Assembly.

IV. MacMahon and Gambetta.

A. MacMahon's Position.

(1) The Republic.

MacMahon had no sympathy with democracy ; he accepted the new constitution but determined to make full use of his right of nominating officers in the army, of appointing civil officials in Paris and the provinces, and of dissolving the Chamber with consent of the Senate, and to exercise supreme executive power independently of the Chamber of Deputies. He asserted “ that the independence of the President within the limits of the constitution must be maintained.”

MacMahon was supported by the Senate, in which the Republicans remained in the minority ; he hoped by nominating Conservative office-holders to get a “ Republic without Republicans.”

(2) The Catholics.

MacMahon was a devoted Catholic. He strongly objected to a secular Republic, and was anxious to strengthen the position of Catholicism in France. The Catholics, who vigorously opposed the Republic, now showed great activity ; a reactionary movement in favour of the Church was warmly supported by officers in the army ; pilgrimages to Lourdes and Rome became more frequent ; the General Assembly of the Catholics now urged MacMahon to take up the cause of the Pope against Victor Emmanuel and demanded for Catholics “ religious and social protection.”

B. Gambetta.

Gambetta led the opposition to MacMahon's policy and again won support by his eloquent speeches.

(1) The Republic.

MacMahon claimed the right of selecting his own ministers without reference to the majority of the Chamber of Deputies. Gambetta demanded "that the preponderating power in Parliament should be exercised by the majority through responsible ministers," and asserted that "when the country has spoken the President must either submit or resign."

(2) The Catholics.

Gambetta strongly resented the desire of the Catholics to restore the temporal power of the Pope, and maintained that they were trying to promote their own interests at the expense of the Republic. He declared that "Clericalism is the enemy."

V. MacMahon and the Chamber.

The elections of 1876 gave the Republicans a majority of 360 votes to 170 in the Chamber.

A. The Left Centre Ministries.

MacMahon made Dufaure head of the Ministry in March, 1876, and Jules Simon in December, 1876. The Republicans dismissed many office-holders who were opposed to the Republic; re-established the freedom of the press; restored to most municipalities the right of electing their mayors; refused to vote money for military almoners.

May 4th, 1877. The Chamber strongly protested against the Italian policy of the Ultramontanes.

May 16th, 1877. MacMahon therefore dismissed Simon's Ministry, made Broglie head of a "fighting" Ministry and dissolved the Chamber on June 25th.

B. The Broglie Ministry, May, 1877, to November, 1877.

Broglie tried to secure a majority in the new elections by turning out Republican officials, suspending Republican municipalities, limiting the freedom of the press and the right of public meeting. But, largely owing to Gambetta's eloquence, 326 Republicans and only 207 Monarchists were elected on October 16th and 17th, 1877, and the Broglie Ministry resigned on November 20th.

C. Resignation of MacMahon.

Thiers died on September 3rd, 1877. MacMahon refused to make Gambetta the head of the Ministry; he vainly tried to set up a Conservative Ministry, refused to sanction a *coup d'état*, and was finally compelled again to appoint Dufaure as head of a purely Republican Ministry.

The Republicans now compelled MacMahon to dismiss many Monarchist office-holders.

January 5th, 1879. The Republicans for the first time obtained a majority in the Senate and demanded that MacMahon should dismiss Bourbaki and other generals who were suspected of having advocated a *coup d'état* in December, 1877.

January 30th, 1879. Consequent resignation of MacMahon.

D. The Result of the Struggle.

The struggle closed a period of transition and frustrated the efforts of Ultramontanes and Monarchists; it gave the Republicans control of the Presidency and the Senate as well as the Chamber, and ensured the establishment of a Democratic Republic.

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JULES GRÉVY

JANUARY 30TH, 1879—DECEMBER, 1887

Jules Grévy, a barrister, was elected President in succession to MacMahon. He was a native of the Jura, had no sympathy with Monarchism or Ultramontanism and always showed a keen interest in the peasantry.

I. General Conditions.

The resignation of MacMahon was a triumph for the Republicans and meant the establishment of the Democratic Republic. But the successful Republicans were weakened by divisions.

A. The Left Centre.

The Left Centre lost the strong influence it had exercised in the Chamber but united with the Monarchist Right to form a Catholic majority in the Senate.

B. Gambetta.

Gambetta, who was elected President of the Chamber on January 31st, 1879, now adopted a more moderate attitude; he became an "opportunist," and while favouring political development deprecated premature reform. He hoped by a conciliatory policy to induce all Republicans to join his "Republican Union" but failed to conciliate either the Radicals of the Extreme Left or the moderate party, who refused to forget that Thiers had once called Gambetta "a raving maniac."

C. The Extreme Left.

The new Extreme Left accused Gambetta of "abandoning Radical principles for a policy of opportunism"¹ and urgently demanded progressive measures.

¹ Seignobos.

The rural electors had used the opportunity that universal suffrage gave them to promote the interests of agriculture¹ and Grévy had asserted that politics were "a business matter." The Extreme Left held that "the Grand Principles" of Republicanism must be asserted and insisted on the extension of political privileges.

D. The Monarchists.

The death of the Prince Imperial in Zululand, in 1879, deprived the Bonapartists of their best candidate. The death of the Comte de Chambord on August 24th, 1883, was followed by a union between the Legitimists and Orleanists. The Monarchists were weak but, in 1885, they took advantage of the divisions among the Republicans to secure a considerable number of seats in the Chamber.

E. General.

The Republicans always maintained their majority in the Chamber, but their division into "groups and sub-groups," against which Gambetta protested, tended to hamper progress and made political conditions so unstable that there were eleven ministries from 1880 to 1888.

II. Political Progress.

Largely owing to the activity of the Extreme Left, supported by *Le Rappel*, *La Lanterne*, and other Parisian newspapers and assisted by Clemenceau and Brisson, the Governments were compelled to pass a number of Radical measures. Poincaré, Hanotaux and other moderate Republicans favoured social reform as a means of averting revolution.

A. The Chambers returned to Paris.

June, 1880. The Chambers returned to Paris from Versailles.

¹ Page 54.

B. Laws in favour of the Working Classes.**(1) The Amnesty of the Communards.**

1879. An amnesty was granted to the Communards of **1871** largely owing to the strong demands of a Working Man's Congress held at Marseilles. The return of the Communards was followed by an outburst of militant Socialism.

1880. Formation of the "Socialist Workers." Rapid spread of Socialism. But the strong opposition of Clemenceau and other Radicals of the middle-class and the peasantry, and opposition that arose among some Socialists to extreme measures, checked the movement.

September 25th, **1882.** Break-up of the newly-formed Collectivist Society at the Congress of St. Etienne.

(2) The Right of Union and Co-operation.**a. Trade Unions.**

March 21st, **1884.** A law was passed allowing artisans and peasants to form Trade Unions.

b. Co-operation.

The Government favoured the establishment of Co-operative Societies and, in **1883**, a Congress of Mutual Aid Societies was held at Lyons.

1888. A law was passed permitting Co-operative Societies to tender for State contracts.

C. Religion and Education.

Jules Ferry was mainly responsible for the remarkable development of education which took place between **1879** and **1885**. He was appointed Minister of Public Instruction in February, **1879**, was Prime Minister and Minister of Public Instruction from September, **1880**, to November, **1881**, and from February, **1883**, to March, **1885**.

He was a freethinker and a moderate Republican. He was a strong supporter of secular education; he did not attack the parish priests but vigorously opposed the Congregations which had secured considerable influence in the schools; he wished "to respect beliefs while ruining political and Ultramontane plans." He strongly advocated the development of science.

(1) The Congregations.

a. The Bill of March, 1879.

March 15th, 1879. Ferry introduced a Bill excluding clergy from the Council of the National University which was to be independent of clerical control, abolishing the right of the clergy to grant degrees or to appoint non-graduate teachers to public secondary schools. By Article Seven no Congregation, and particularly the Jesuits, could give any instruction without authority from the State.

Waddington, the Prime Minister, resigned as a protest against the Bill which, largely owing to the efforts of Jules Simon, was thrown out by the Senate.

b. The Expulsion of the Jesuits, March, 1880.

March 29th, 1880. The Chamber compelled Freycinet, the Prime Minister, to issue decrees expelling the Jesuits within three months and requiring other Congregations to obtain from the State permission to remain in France.

Freycinet, hoping to induce Pope Leo XIII to abstain from hostility towards the Republic, tried to secure exemption from these decrees for some Congregations. A combination of Radicals and Gambettists helped Ferry to turn out Freycinet on September 20th, 1880.

October-November, 1880. Ferry expelled the Carmelites and other Orders.

(2) Primary Schools.

June 16th, 1881. The right of the people to secular and neutral primary education was legally recognised and such education was made compulsory in March, 1882.

Normal Schools of Higher Grade were established to train teachers in the State primary schools ; the salaries of such teachers were guaranteed by the State.

(3) Secondary Schools.

New Secondary Schools, better equipped and better staffed, were provided for boys.

December 21st, 1880. In spite of strong opposition from the Church a Bill was passed establishing Secondary Schools for Girls.

July 26th, 1881. Establishment of a Higher Grade Normal College to train mistresses for these secondary schools.

(4) The Development of Science.

Largely owing to Albert Dumont, who died in 1884, new colleges for science were built in Paris and other great towns ; new libraries and laboratories were erected and new professorships were founded. Two hundred million francs were spent and the number of students doubled in eight years.

Ferry in a short time had established a complete system of secular education under the authority of the State.

D. The Development of Liberty.

June, 1881. Full liberty of public meeting was established although political clubs were still subject to restrictions.

July 30th, 1881. The press received complete freedom ; no licence or stamp duty was required ; press offences were to be tried by juries.

March 28th, 1883. Municipal Councils received the right of electing their own mayors, except in Paris. But the continuance of the prefects and their dependence on the central government made local government less independent than in England.

E. Constitutional Changes.

(1) The Senate.

December, 1884. Abolition of life-senatorships.¹ The number of communal delegates elected to vote for senators was made proportional to the population of the Commune. Thus the influence of Paris and the large towns over the Senate was strengthened.

(2) The Election of Deputies.

Owing to trouble caused by the rivalries of rural and urban democrats Gambetta proposed that all the candidates in a department should be submitted in one group (*scrutin de liste*) instead of elected individually (*scrutin d'arrondissement*). He became Prime Minister on November 12th, 1881, formed the "Great Ministry," which was to be a vindication of Republicanism, but made a grave mistake in selecting his ministers only from his own party. His opponents united against him and threw out his plan of electoral reform.

January 26th, 1882. Resignation and, on December 31st, death of Gambetta at the age of forty-four.

[June 8th, 1885. The law *sur le scrutin de liste* established group elections.]

III. The Boulanger Crisis, 1887-1889.

A. The Position of Parties.

(1) *Opportunists*.

The *Opportunists*, or moderate Republicans, supported Ferry. But Ferry's colonial policy,² and

¹ Page 18.

² Page 61.

especially the French reverse in Tonquin in March, 1885,¹ caused much resentment. The nation still remembered Napoleon III's ill-fated expedition to Mexico²; it favoured complete abdication beyond the frontier, complete renunciation of any foreign policy; President Grévy declared, in 1882, that "France has got over the craze for distant adventures, and hungers for repose."

The *Opportunists* had incurred heavy debts for their new railways, colonial expeditions and schools; public finances were embarrassed and the situation was aggravated by a serious commercial crisis in 1882.

(2) The Radical Left.

The Radicals demanded reforms which the *Opportunists* had shelved; they wished to abolish the right of the Senate to sanction the dissolution of the Chamber and to vote for the budget; they advocated the separation of Church and State and the imposition of an income tax. They objected to Ferry's colonial policy.

(3) The Conservative Right.

a. The Monarchists.

The supporters of Monarchy were ineffective. The Bonapartists were weakened by quarrels between Prince Victor Napoleon, who had been acknowledged head of the party in May, 1884, and his father, and by the death on February 3rd, 1884, of Rouher, Napoleon III's Prime Minister.

June, 1886. Expulsion from France of Prince Napoleon, his son and the Comte de Paris. The Comte de Paris issued a protest asserting that Monarchy was the most suitable government for France and appealing for Royalist support.

¹ Page 61.

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 255.

b. The Catholics.

The Catholics were strongly opposed to Ferry owing to his attack on the Congregations and his educational policy.

B. The Election of October 4th, 1885.

The division between the Opportunists and Radicals had reduced the power of the Assembly. The opponents of Republicanism united against Ferry.

October 4th, 1885. Largely owing to the *scrutin de liste* the Monarchists gained 176 seats and the Republicans 120 on the first day of voting.

At the second elections, necessitated by the failure of any party to secure a clear majority at the first, all the Republicans, who were greatly alarmed at the Monarchist successes, united and carried most of their candidates.

As the result of the elections the Republicans remained in a majority, but their majority had fallen from 340 to 163 and they had lost nearly two million votes. The Opportunists and Radicals were evenly balanced.

The Republicans now adopted two lines of policy. The Ministries of Freycinet (January to December, 1886) and Goblet (December, 1886, to May, 1887) supported a policy of Republican concentration which aimed at uniting all the Republicans against the Monarchists. The Ministry of Rouvier (May to December, 1887) tried by a policy of conciliation to unite the moderate Republicans with the Monarchists against the Radicals. The general result was that ministers abandoned reform and tried to keep their posts. The impotence of the Government became still more apparent.

C. The Resignation of Grévy.

December 2nd, 1887. Resignation of Grévy owing to the scandal caused by his son-in-law, Wilson's, traffic in decorations.

December 3rd, 1887. Sadi Carnot, a moderate Republican, was elected President. The *Opportunists* wished to elect Ferry but were deterred by the fear that his election would lead to a rising in Paris.

D. Boulanger.

General Boulanger, Minister of War in the Radical Ministry of January, 1886, gained great popularity by pressing for the release of Schnaebelen, a French officer, who had been arrested by a German policeman on French territory on April 21st, 1887.

(1) The National Party.

Boulanger formed a National Party with the support of the Catholics and Monarchists. He gained a considerable amount of popular support in the North and, owing to the support of the Radicals who disliked the Ministry, was elected for Paris in January, 1889. He hoped that at the approaching election the *scrutin de liste* would help his cause.

(2) The Monarchists.

The Monarchists now supported Boulanger in the hope of weakening the Republic. The cost of his electoral campaign was met largely by contributions from the Monarchists, and particularly from the Comte de Paris and the Duchesse d'Uzès.

(3) The Danger to the Republic.

The divisions of the Republicans, the impotence of the Chambers and the scandal of Grévy's resignation had gravely impaired the prestige of the Government. The enemies of the Republic united to support Boulanger, who aimed at dissolving the Chambers and securing a revision of the constitution through a specially elected Constituent Assembly. He desired to strengthen the executive and weaken the authority

of the Chambers over the administration. If he had been successful the Republic might have been remodelled on the lines of that of the United States, or there might have been a Monarchist restoration; many feared that Boulanger meant to secure power for himself by a *coup d'état*.

(4) The Triumph of the Republic.

All Republicans united to save the Republic. Carnot restored the prestige of the Presidency by the liberal hospitality he offered at the Élysée and by the visits he paid to French towns and provinces.

February, 1889. The *scrutin d'arrondissement* was reintroduced.

April 1st, 1889. The Senate, which was a solid anti-Boulangist force, proposed to try Boulanger for "plotting against the safety of the State"; he fled to Brussels; in the elections of September, 1889, the "revisionists" won only twenty-three seats.

September 30th, 1891. Suicide of Boulanger at Brussels.

The Boulangist movement had shown that "Caesarism was ever latent in the French nature,"¹ but the danger to the Republic was averted. The successful Paris Exhibition of 1889 gave striking proof of the industrial prosperity of France, and indirectly gave support to the Republican Constitution under which that prosperity had been attained.

References :

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Modern France (Bourgeois), Cambridge University Press, Vol. II, chap. vi, pages 269-305.

¹ Bodley, Vol. II, page 365.

THE REPUBLIC FROM 1889

The Republicans had united to resist Boulanger, but after his fall they split up again into groups. The rivalry of the Republican groups, the growing tendency of deputies to become the agents rather than the representatives of their constituencies, the increasing power exercised over the Government by the electors, the gross corruption of deputies which the Panama Scandals of 1892 disclosed, the revived activities of the Clerical Party, the growth of Socialism and serious differences as to colonial policy, gravely hampered the Government of the country.

But neither Royalists nor Bonapartists were now of real importance, and the steady development of industry and commerce, which found a new outlet in the rapidly extending French colonies, proved a source of great strength to France. In spite of serious difficulties the Republic survived.

I. Clericals and France.

A. The Moderate Republicans and Pope Leo XIII.

(1) Leo XIII.

During the papacy of the uncompromising Pius IX (1846-1878) the Ultramontanes remained hostile to the Republic. But Leo XIII (1878-1903), in spite of the strong resentment aroused among devout Catholics by Ferry's educational policy,¹ adopted a more conciliatory attitude.

He realised that the influence of the Church had been impaired because "the Catholic Church had become a vast electoral agency of the unsuccessful Monarchical party,"¹ and the Boulangist movement had shown that "the good of the Church was not the primary aim of the Monarchists."²

¹ Page 27.

² Bodley.

Leo XIII hoped to come to terms with the Republic and so to be better able to maintain the Catholic religion which was threatened by the growing tendency towards the secularisation of France. He offered to the Republic the assistance of the Catholics in the hope of securing concessions for the Church.

Leo XIII had, in 1885, urged Catholics to acknowledge the Republic and to take part in the rule of democracy in France.

February 16th, 1892. By the Encyclical *Innumeras* the Pope forbade Catholics to secure political domination and ordered them to obey the civil power, "for the civil power, upon every theory, comes from God." But they were to "accept the Constitution in order to modify legislation" and particularly the recent laws on Education.

The Encyclical "disburdened Catholic theology in France of a dogma which had been preached for twenty years, to the effect that to be a good Christian it was necessary to be anti-Republican; and its practical effect was to offer to the Monarchical sons of the Church the alternative of rallying to the Republic or of abstaining from politics."¹

Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers, supported the Pope but many of the bishops and most of the Monarchists continued hostile to the Republic. The Comte de Mun, who had tried to win over the working classes to Christian Socialism, obeyed the Pope, and those Catholics who followed Mun in rallying to the support of the Republic were called the "Ralliés."

(2) The Moderate Republicans.

Largely owing to their fear of the growing power of Socialism the Republican Ministers accepted the overtures of the Pope. A union took place of some of the Conservative Right with the Republican Centre; President Carnot, Constans, who had done much to

¹ Bodley, Vol. II, page 382.

defeat Boulangism, and Ribot supported the movement. The result was "that, at the elections of 1893, the separation of Church and State, with the other anti-clerical measures, had almost disappeared from the programme of the Republicans."¹

B. *L'Affaire Dreyfus.*

The religious Congregations, now relieved of the fear of anti-clerical measures, regained much of their former influence, especially in the army. Supported by Bois-deffre, the Chief of the Staff, and all the Commanders of Army Corps, the Ultramontane papers, such as the *Libre Parole*, adopted the anti-Semite policy which was first advocated in Edward Drumont's book, *La France Juive*, and extended the movement into a crusade against Freemasons, Protestants and Liberals. The Méline Ministry (1896-1898) was too obsessed with the fear of Socialism to check the movement.

(1) The Condemnation of Dreyfus.

December, 1894. Captain Alfred Dreyfus, an Alsatian Jew, was stripped of his rank and deported to Guiana on a false charge of betraying France to Germany. The chief evidence against Dreyfus was a secret document forged in the Ministry of War by Col. Henry and sent to the Court by the Minister of War.

President Felix Faure (January, 1895-February, 1899) connived at the refusal of the Méline Ministry to comply with the demands for a new trial which were made by Dreyfus' friends, by literary men like Zola, by the Socialist Jaurès, the Radical Clemenceau and many others. The General Staff asserted that the "honour of the army" required that the sentence should stand.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History.*

(2) Dreyfus declared innocent.

May, 1898. Henri Brisson, a Radical, succeeded Méline. The Radicals and Socialists generally demanded the revision of the sentence.

Cavaignac, the Minister of War, admitted that Henry's evidence was forged; Henry committed suicide in prison; Boisdeffre resigned.

The election of President Loubet in February, 1899, the addition of a Socialist, Millerand, to the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry (June, 1899-June, 1902) and the reconciliation of the Socialists and Moderate Republicans, led to the revision of the sentence.

President Loubet granted a pardon to Dreyfus, who was declared innocent by the Court of Appeal on July 12th, 1906. He was restored to his rank in the army and his chief supporter, Col. Picquart, became Minister of War on October 26th, 1906.

(3) The importance of *L'Affaire Dreyfus*.

L'Affaire Dreyfus "involved the future of the democracy and its national army." It was an attempt by the Ultramontane Congregations, strongly supported by the army, to secure predominant power at a time when the Moderate Republicans were obsessed with the fear of Socialism.

C. The Separation of Church and State.

The Republicans were well disposed towards Roman Catholicism which was the religion of the great majority of Frenchmen; they were prepared to maintain the Concordat which made the priests a body of State-paid French officials; they did not want to separate Church and State. But they determined, while respecting the position of the parish priests, to limit the power of the Congregations who had played so great a part in *L'Affaire Dreyfus*.

(1) Waldeck-Rousseau's Law of Associations, 1901.

July 1st, 1901. Waldeck-Rousseau carried a law which gave to Roman Catholics the right of forming Associations provided that they were not secret, that they complied with the laws, and that the State reserved the right of giving or withholding recognition of Associations which included foreign members and were under the direction of a foreign power. As in Ferry's Act¹ unrecognised Congregations were prohibited from acting as teachers.

Waldeck-Rousseau thought that he had carried an Act of Pacification which would enable the Congregations to carry on legitimate operations with the sanction of the State.

(2) Combes.

Largely owing to the growing influence of the Extreme Left, Combes, who succeeded Waldeck-Rousseau in June, 1902, violently attacked the Congregations.

June 27th, 1902. He disbanded all unlicensed Associations which had been formed since July, 1901.

July, 1902. He disbanded about three thousand Associations which had failed to secure the necessary licences.

March, 1903. Contrary to the Law of Associations, which provided that each petition for licence should be considered separately, Combes, owing to strong pressure from the Left, allowed only one out of many petitions to be considered and on its rejection dispersed all the petitioning Congregations.

April 11th, 1903. In spite of strong opposition from the Clericals the Chamber refused to vote the usual religious subsidies because of the shelter given to dispossessed monks by certain bishops and parish priests.

(3) Pius X.

The Congregations gained the strong support of Pius X (1903-1914), who, unlike Leo XIII, adopted an attitude of opposition towards the Republic; the Socialists, who cared little for the Concordat, favoured more active measures against the Church.

April 28th, 1904. The Pope issued a public protest against a visit paid by President Loubet to the King of Italy in Rome.

May, 1904. On the proposal of Jaurès, the leader of the Socialists, the French Government withdrew their ambassador, Nisard, from the Vatican.

(4) The Statute of Separation, 1905.

a. The Statute.

December 9th, 1905. Briand, the Minister of Public Worship, carried a law separating Church and State. An inventory was taken by the State of the Church property which was to remain under Church control.

b. Unsuccessful opposition.

Pius X ordered Catholics to disregard the Statute and refused to sanction the formation of Associations to administer the property which was left to the Church; the *Action Libérale*, an association for the support of the Church, secretly supported by Montagnini, the Papal agent in Paris, led the opposition in the Catholic press; many priests refused to admit the Government agents to their churches; riots broke out in Paris and Normandy.

May 6th and 20th, 1906. In spite of the efforts of the *Action Libérale* the supporters of separation gained a large majority in the elections.

c. Briand.

August 10th, 1906. By the Encyclical *Gravissimo Officii* Pius X ordered Catholics not to join denominational associations.

January 2nd, 1907, and August 13th, 1908. Briand therefore vested the legal ownership of parish churches in the local Commune but, in spite of Clemenceau's strong opposition, allowed the clergy to retain the use and care of their churches.

(5) General.

The separation of the Church and State, one of the most important events in the history of France, would in earlier times have led to civil war. But the development of secular education, the spread of Free Thought, the aggression of the Congregations, the uncompromising policy of Pius X had weakened the influence of the Church in France, and the nation generally took no active part in the struggle.

As a result of the separation the Church has lost the rights of receiving financial help from the State, of forming Associations except for charitable purposes, of securing exemption from military service and taxation.

But the State recognises the right of all Frenchmen to complete freedom of religious belief and exercise, and French Catholics "have gradually acquiesced, if not in the law, at any rate in the separation of Church and State as a *fait accompli*." ¹

II. Socialism.

A. Social Reform, 1884-1911.

(1) The spread of Socialism.

Although the breach between the "Possibilists," who advocated social reform by slow degrees, and the

¹ Bourgeois.

supporters of Jules Guesde, who wished to put the Collectivist doctrines of Karl Marx into immediate execution, if necessary by revolution, had broken the Socialist party in 1882,¹ the demand for social reform grew. The adherence of Millerand, in 1882, and of Jaurès, in 1887, strengthened the cause of Socialism. The concessions in regard to Trade Unions (1884) and Co-operative Societies (1888)² which had been made by the Republicans failed to stop the spread of Socialism; the *Petite République Française* gave efficient help to the movement.

1889. The Congress of the Revolutionary Labour Party at Bordeaux demanded an eight hours' day and organised a general strike for May 1st to emphasise their demands.

(2) Reform.

The Republicans endeavoured to avert a possible rising by proceeding further with their programme of Social Reform by means of legislation.

July 8th, 1890. Miners were allowed to elect delegates to ensure their safety in working hours.

December 27th, 1890. Compensation was assured to workmen whose contracts were arbitrarily broken.

1891. A Supreme Council of Labour was formed of equal numbers of employers and workmen and the problem of workmen's pensions was seriously considered.

July 20th, 1891. A Labour Department was formed in the Ministry of Commerce and Labour Exchanges were projected in towns.

B. The Establishment of a Socialist Party in the Chamber.

(1) The Republicans.

a. The Radicals break from the Moderates.

The union between all sections of the Republicans, which had been caused by the danger

¹ Page 26.

² *Ibid.*

from Boulanger,¹ did not last long. The Moderate Republicans broke away from the Radicals, who continued ineffectively to advocate the imposition of an Income Tax and the separation of Church and State. Common fear of Socialism led to a union between the Moderate Republicans and the Right.

b. The Panama Scandals, 1892.

The utter failure of the Panama Canal Scheme was followed by an inquiry which revealed gross corruption. Ferdinand de Lesseps and eleven deputies, including six former Cabinet Ministers, were prosecuted; of these Baihaut, who confessed, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and a fine of 750,000 francs, but most of the accused were acquitted. A hundred deputies and senators were said to be implicated.

(2) The Socialists.

a. Weakness of the Socialists.

By 1892 the Socialists had split up into four parties; the Working Men's Party in the Chamber had dwindled to a few revolutionary deputies, without a definite programme.

b. Union of the Socialists, 1893.

The Socialists took full advantage of the opportunity afforded by the Panama scandals, which had gravely impaired the prestige of the Republicans; some supporters of Boulanger and many Radicals transferred their votes to the Extreme Left. Millerand skilfully united all the Socialists into one body and formed the Socialist Union to secure "the social Republic."

c. The Elections of 1893.

Election of fifty Socialists. The Socialists for the first time formed a parliamentary body strong enough to influence the proceedings of the Chamber.

C. From the formation of the Socialist Parliamentary Party to the fall of the Méline Ministry.**(1) Anarchist Crimes.**

Anarchists, of whom Ravachol and Vaillant were the most notorious, now endeavoured to "free the individual by destroying society."

March, 1892. Loss of life caused by dynamite explosions on the Boulevard St. Germain and at Lobau barracks.

July 11th, 1892. Execution of Ravachol.

December 9th, 1893. Vaillant threw a bomb at the President during a session of the Chamber.

February 4th, 1894. Execution of Vaillant.

June 24th, 1894. President Carnot assassinated at Lyons by Caesario, an Italian anarchist.

December, 1893, and June, 1894. The Chamber passed laws to suppress anarchist journals and check anarchist crime.

The Socialists were not responsible for these outrages; but the terror they caused led to some improvement in the relations between the Moderates and the Catholics of the Right.

(2) President Casimir-Périer. June, 1894-January, 1895.

Casimir-Périer, who was elected President of the Republic on June 27th, 1894, was a Moderate Republican, a member of a very wealthy family; he had been the author of the anti-Anarchist law of December, 1893, and favoured union between the Moderates and the Right.

Although the Moderates continued their policy of securing social reform by Parliamentary action and in November, 1894, passed a law to provide better dwellings for working men, the Socialists bitterly attacked the "Capitalist" President, who resigned office in January, 1895, because he considered that he had not received proper support from his ministers.

(3) The Méline Ministry, April, 1896–June, 1898.

Léon Bourgeois, the first Radical Chief Minister, tried in vain (November, 1895–April, 1896) to effect a reconciliation between the Moderates and the Radicals. He carried in the Chamber a motion for a progressive income tax which alienated the Moderates and was thrown out by the Senate.

Méline attempted to check the power of the Socialists by forming a union between the Catholics of the Right and the Moderates. He aimed at uniting the middle classes to secure social reform without revolution. But his Catholic supporters proved too strong, and as the result of their action, particularly in the Dreyfus case, the safety of the Republic was imperilled by military conspiracies and grave unrest on the part of the people who, already terrified by anarchist crimes, were deluded into the belief that the army alone could save the country. It was partly owing to this belief that the Méline and Dupuy (November, 1898–June, 1899) Ministries resisted the revision of the sentence on Dreyfus.

D. The Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry, June, 1899–June, 1902.

(1) The condition of France in the early part of 1899.

a. The Presidency.

In the early part of 1899 the condition of France was critical. President Félix Faure, who died on February 16th, 1899, had made full use of the social advantages the Presidency

conferred but had done nothing to restore the prestige it had lost under Casimir-Périer.

The election of Emile Loubet, who succeeded Faure, was strongly resented by the Paris mob.

b. Political unrest.

The sentence on Dreyfus, which was not annulled until 1906, provoked much unrest; fierce party struggles continued between Republicans and Socialists and between different Republican sections; the policy of the Ultramontanes aroused growing hostility against the Church and the chiefs of the army. Of the administrative officials many favoured the restoration of clerical influence and some desired to see the overthrow of Republican rule.

c. Foreign problems.

Grave difficulties had arisen between Great Britain and France in Egypt, and the Fashoda incident,¹ July-December, 1898, caused very bitter feeling in France.

(2) Waldeck-Rousseau.

a. The Democratic Block.

June, 1899. The grave danger enabled Waldeck-Rousseau to form a united party to save Parliamentary Government. He was a Radical lawyer and an old follower of Gambetta. His ministry was a "Democratic Block," which included not only Moderates and Radicals but also the Socialist Millerand who became Minister of Commerce and Industry.

The new ministry received the steady support of President Loubet, whose firmness, dignity and moderation restored to the Presidency much of the influence it had lost. But

¹ Page 65.

the extreme Socialists, led by Guesde, who upheld the doctrine of war between classes and wished to effect social reform by revolution, broke away from the more moderate Socialists and in May, 1901, at a Congress at Lyons, expelled Millerand, Viviani and Briand from the Revolutionary Labour Party.

b. Social Legislation.

Largely owing to Millerand's influence important measures of social reform were carried.

1899. Organisation of a Board of Labour.

March, 1900. The working day was limited to ten hours, and, in **1902**, to nine and a half.

January 2nd, 1901. Labour Councils were formed to settle disputes between masters and men.

February 15th, 1902. A Public Health Act provided for the inspection of workmen's houses and offered State subsidies to assist the erection of cheap houses.

(3) General.

Waldeck-Rousseau's Ministry "marked a new era in the history of parties and of parliamentary stability under the Republic."¹ It was the longest ministry since **1870**; it probably saved Parliamentary Government in France; it effected important social reforms.

E. Later Developments.

(1) Combes, June, **1902**–January, **1905**. Stronger Socialist influence.

a. The Delegates of the Left.

Under Combes, President of the Council from June, **1902**, to January, **1905**, the Democratic Block was weakened and the Socialist element in the ministry grew stronger. A Socialist

¹ Grant and Temperley, *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, page 432.

Committee, "The Delegates of the Left," practically decided the policy of the ministry, and the separation of Church and State was strongly supported by most Socialists in spite of the opposition of Millerand.

b. Weakening of Central Authority.

(i) Deputies.

In order to maintain his position Combes sanctioned the encroachment of the Chamber on the executive. The Government was weakened by the growing power deputies secured over the administration, while the deputies themselves came more and more under the influence of local wire-pullers.

(ii) Growing independence of Government officials.

Under Combes' Ministry officials formed unions which enabled them to offer more effective resistance to their administrative superiors; Pelletan, the Minister of Marine, gravely weakened the *morale* of the fighting forces by permitting Socialist propaganda in the army and navy. To please the Extreme Left military service was reduced to two years, in 1905, and naval and military expenditure was checked.

c. Result.

Thus the unity Waldeck-Rousseau had given to the Republicans was shattered; the separation of Church and State had embittered the Ultramontanes; the Socialists were becoming more and more aggressive and again adopted a revolutionary attitude; the prestige of the Government was impaired by the concessions Combes had made to the Socialists and by the growing interference of deputies and local "bosses."

The weakness of the Government was made manifest and France was deeply humiliated when, in June, 1905, Delcassé¹ was dismissed practically at the demand of Germany. The end of President Loubet's presidency (February, 1899–February, 1906) was marked by the failure of the promise of good government which had characterised its beginning.

F. President Armand Fallières, 1906–1913.

In the early days of the presidency of Armand Fallières (February, 1906 to 1913) the difficulty with Germany was settled by the Act of Algeciras² in April, 1906; the danger of a rupture between the Government and the chiefs of the army which seemed likely to follow from the Dreyfus case, was averted. But the Ministers failed to get from their supporters the support that they needed.

(1) Clemenceau, 1906–1909.

a. Radical measures.

October 25th, 1906. Clemenceau proposed to institute a graduated income tax and to extend the authority of the State over the railways; he appointed as first Minister of Labour, Viviani, who tried to establish a system of pensions for workmen.

b. Socialist opposition.

But he refused to abandon the idea of private property and was bitterly attacked by the Socialists, who endeavoured to weaken the Government by a number of strikes which were often accompanied by rioting.

March, 1907. The *Confédération Générale du Travail* caused a strike of electricians in Paris.

¹ Page 69.

² *Ibid.*

May, 1909. The employés of the Post and Telegraph Department came out on strike to enforce the demand of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* that State officials should have full liberty to form Trade Unions. Difficulties also arose with railway officials and schoolmasters and there was grave discontent in the army.

(2) Briand, July, 1909–February, 1911.

a. Briand's policy.

July, 1909. On the resignation of Clemenceau President Fallières, for the first time in the history of France, made a Socialist, Aristide Briand, President of the Council. Briand had carried out the final separation of Church and State. He saw clearly the need of altering political conditions which were hampering the working of the Parliamentary machine. He declared his desire to "raise the Republic high above party" and, as a means to better government, proposed to reintroduce the *scrutin de liste*¹ which would have weakened the influence of the local wire-pullers who, in recent years, had exerted undue pressure on the Government.

His attack on existing constituencies aroused strong opposition from those interested in preserving the old order; his advocacy of "brotherly love" as an instrument of government infuriated the extreme Socialists; his desire to make Parliamentary Government effective was directly opposed to the policy of the Syndicalists who wished to destroy Parliamentary action by the "direct action" of strikes and violence.

His policy led to an increase, in the elections of April 20th, 1910, of the Socialists and to the outbreak of strikes.

¹ Page 29.

b. Failure of Briand.

October, 1910. Briand, determined to maintain Parliamentary Government, put down the Syndicalist strike of railway employ  s by calling out the strikers as army reservists to suppress the movement. But his aggressive measures led to further strikes in 1911, while the middle classes resisted his measures of electoral reform.

February 27th, 1911. Resignation of Briand. His attempt to unite all parties in the defence of the State by a policy of conciliation had failed.

(3) Joseph Caillaux, June, 1911.

Caillaux, who became President of the Council on June 23rd, 1911, did not support electoral reform or aim at the union of all parties but determined to govern by means of separate parties in the hope of securing social evolution. His proposals to strengthen the power of the State over the railways, to tax fund-holders and great financial companies, won for him the support of the Socialists in addition to that of his own Radical party, and made the Left, as distinct from the Moderate Republicans, the dominant party.

Parliamentary Government continued unstable, but under President Poincar   (January, 1913) colonial and foreign policy, national defence and the Great War became the leading problems of France.

III. The Working of Parliamentary Government up to 1900.

Parliamentary Government has proved ineffective in France.

A. Some General Causes.

Unlike the English the French are not a Parliamentary people¹; centralised bureaucracy is incompatible with Parliamentary Government; in France the group

¹ Bodley.

system, and not the party system, which is essential for successful Parliamentary Government, prevails; the laws and institutions of Napoleon I, "supplemented by an occasional revolution," to a considerable extent postponed the need of social reform up to the end of the nineteenth century and thus deprived the Parliamentary system of its main object.¹

B. Weakness of the Electoral System.

(1) Manipulation.

All parties have acquiesced in the attempt of the central power to manipulate the elections, but the control of elections has tended to fall into the hands of local political associations which, to a large extent, control the deputies, whose election they have secured, and settle the distribution of local patronage.

(2) Lack of Interest.

The voters have displayed little interest in politics; they have cared little for the controversies that have arisen between the Senate and the deputies or for the fate of ministries. "In France since the Revolution instead of the change of ministries, the rise and fall of dynasties and of constitutions have reflected the varying moods of the people."

(3) Deterioration of Candidates.

Partly owing to the conditions of election very few of the most distinguished French citizens have been willing to enter political life. The intellectual standard of the deputies and senators has deteriorated and falls far below that of the Bordeaux Assembly of 1871.

The Chamber has tended to become an assembly of professional politicians and great interests are not duly represented. In 1893 out of about 600 deputies 150 were lawyers, only 60 were connected with commerce and industry.

¹ Bodley, Vol. II, page 200.

C. Ministries.

(1) Unstable.

Largely owing to the lack of strong political parties on whose support they could rely, to the narrow outlook of deputies, and to the lack of cohesion among the different groups ministries have proved unstable. Twenty-five ministries were in office from 1879-1896. Ministries "became too feeble and too short-lived to direct the working of the machinery."¹

Gambetta advocated the adoption of the *scrutin de liste* on the ground that it produced a better type of deputy than the *scrutin d'arrondissement* which often led to the election of men of inferior capacity and limited outlook. The success of Waldeck-Rousseau in effecting a union of Republican groups made his ministry more stable than any of its predecessors, but with the dissolution of the union ministries again became limited in duration.

(2) Weak.

The deputies, who themselves were subject to the influence of local political bosses, gradually exercised more and more pressure on ministers.

By personal persuasion they were often able to compel ministers to settle affairs dealing with their own constituencies; to secure official appointments for their friends or to make effective their own policy or that of their group.

The power of Interpellation enabled deputies to obtain from ministers formal answers to any questions they cared to put.

The influence exercised by deputies over ministers is unconstitutional because it means the interference of the legislature with the executive which, according to the theory of the constitution, are separate powers. It does help to ensure the co-operation of "a demo-

¹ Bodley, Vol. II, page 117.

cratic, political system and a permanent administrative bureaucracy. It compels the permanent officials to submit to the people's chosen representatives." ¹

D. The Senate.

The Senate can do little to check the influence of individual deputies or of the Chamber of Deputies in general, which possesses a powerful weapon in its practical control of the budget.

The Senate was the main factor in the overthrow of Boulangerism, in 1889, and acted boldly, in 1896, when it threw out Bourgeois' proposals for an income tax. But the Senate neither inspires respect nor represents great commercial or industrial interests. Generally, the Senate has been stagnant since 1884, but it serves a most useful political purpose by giving the Chamber of Deputies time for the further consideration of its policy.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, chap. v.

Modern France (Bourgeois), Cambridge University Press, Vol. II, chap. vi.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Seignobos), Heinemann, pages 213-225.

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INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC

* The remarkable growth of her industry and commerce enabled France to recover from the effects of the Franco-German War. This growth was due partly to the natural wealth of the country ; to the industry of the people and particularly to the thrift of the peasantry which " forms the solid fabric upon which the prosperity

¹ Seignobos.

of the country ultimately depends"¹; to the assistance given by the State; to the new markets which resulted from colonial expansion and led to a sixfold increase in French colonial trade between 1870 and 1910; to the development of science. The Paris Exhibitions, of 1878, 1889 and 1900, afforded ample proof of the development of industry in France.

I. Agriculture.

Thiers, Gambetta and Grévy did much to promote the interests of agriculture.

A. State Aid.

(1) Protection.

1885 and 1887. A duty was imposed on foreign wheat.

1884 and 1897. The manufacture of sugar and the cultivation of the beetroot were protected.

1878 and 1879. To check phylloxera, which had reduced the production of the vineyards by one half, the American vines to which it was attributed were excluded from France, and land which had been devastated to stamp out the plague was exempted from taxation for four years.

1881. Establishment of a Ministry of Agriculture.

Bounties were given to promote the growth of flax, the breeding of silkworms and horses.

(2) Legislation.

1884. The Law of 1884² led to the development of Co-operative Societies among peasants.

1894. Formation of the Agricultural Mutual Loan Society. Rapid increase of Agricultural Mutual Assurance Societies from 1894.

¹ Bodley.

² Page 26.

B. Scientific Cultivation.

The researches of the National Institute of Agronomy, the instruction given on various branches of agriculture in Veterinary and Technical Colleges, and the work of men like Pasteur to whose efforts the final eradication of phylloxera was due, led to the development of scientific agriculture and a consequent increase in production. Since 1860 the value of agricultural products in France has doubled.

II. Industry.

The industry of France had grown under Napoleon III largely owing to the extension of railways. After the Franco-German War further expansion took place.

A. Coal and Iron.

The introduction of better methods of working led to a great increase in the amount of coal mined, particularly in the Pas de Calais coalfield; the larger supply of coal facilitated the more extensive use of machinery, the manufacture of pig-iron, which increased sixfold between 1870 and 1904, and the advance of electrical work.

B. Other Industries.

Notable progress has been made also in the manufacture of textiles near Rouen and in Champagne, of chemicals around Nancy and on the Belgian frontier.

III. Improvement of Communications.

The improvement of communications was due partly to Freycinet, an engineer, who became Minister of Public Works in 1878.

A. Roads.

Between **1871** and about **1910** 200,000 kilometres of new highways were constructed.

B. Railways.

1873-1906. Construction of 90,000 kilometres of new railroads.

C. Canals.

1876-1900. Two thousand kilometres of new canals were made and canal traffic was assisted by the abolition of public dues in **1880** and private tolls in **1889**.

D. Ports

All important seaports were extended and improved, particularly in the North and West.

IV. General.

The active support given by the State to industry and commerce has proved costly and the national debt was doubled between **1872** and **1897**. But the wealth of the country increased enormously and the amount of capital invested in French stocks trebled within about the same period.

The development of industry and the growing importance of the working classes have led to a considerable amount of social reform on the part of the Government and proved an important factor in the spread of Socialism.

Reference :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, pages 99-102.

THE COLONIAL POLICY OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The naval powers had for many years pursued a colonial policy.

France and Great Britain had attempted to found colonial empires in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Spanish possessions in America had had considerable influence on British history since the time of Elizabeth, and the Portuguese and Dutch had founded colonies in Asia and Africa.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and particularly after the seizure of Angra Pequena by Germany, in 1884, colonial expansion became a problem of supreme importance to the nations of Europe.

I. France under the Second Empire.

Under Napoleon III France had maintained her authority in Algeria, which had been formally annexed in 1842,¹ and thus obtained a footing in Northern Africa.

1844. Annexation of Tahiti. The annexation disavowed by Guizot owing to British protests.²

1860. Foundation of a French colony at Saigon, at the mouth of the Mekong in Indo-China, partly in the hope that it might form a base for trade with Southern China.

1863-1867. The ill-fated Mexican Expedition³ was undertaken in the hope of strengthening French influence in Central America.

II. Colonial Expansion from 1878 to 1885.

A. General.

(1) Diminished interest, 1871-1877.

Napoleon III did little to extend the French colonial empire and the utter failure of the Mexican Expedi-

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 210.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, pages 255, 259.

tion discredited the cause of colonial expansion. The Franco-German War compelled France to concentrate her powers on national defence ; from 1871 to 1877 the urgent problems of the settlement of the Constitution and the recovery of the country from the consequences of the war engaged the attention of politicians.

(2) French explorers continued their efforts.

But daring French travellers made hazardous journeys in the Sahara (1874-77), Indo-China (1875-77), and along the Niger. In 1874 the King of Annam, who was nominally subject to China, made a treaty with France which made Annam a French Protectorate, opened Annamese ports to French traders and guaranteed toleration for Christian missionaries.

(3) Ferry's Colonial Policy.

Up to 1877 France had been isolated. But at the Congress of Berlin she regained her position in Europe and secured the approval of Europe for her colonial policy. Lord Salisbury, in 1878, agreed to give France a free hand in Algeria and Tunis ; Bismarck was pleased that France should use in colonial expansion the wealth and forces which might be used in an attempt to regain Alsace-Lorraine. Jules Ferry, from 1883 to 1885, definitely adopted a policy of colonial activity as an outlet for the energy of France.

(4) The French Plan of Colonisation.

The French system, unlike the British, did not depend upon the casual settlement of individual explorers or the establishment of economic control by a commercial company. French colonisation, although influenced by the work of individual explorers, was supported and controlled by the State which made roads and canals and established a legal system based on the Code Napoléon. —

After about 1841 emigration to the colonies, and particularly Algeria, was encouraged. A new colony was regarded as a part of France and was represented in the Chamber by elected deputies.

B. Tunis.

The Bey of Tunis was nominally subject to Turkey; the finances of the country had been handed over to France, Italy and Great Britain but difficulties had arisen between the three Powers.

April, 1881. Owing to the incursions of nomadic tribes from Tunis into Algeria, a French army of 30,000 men invaded Tunis and occupied Bizerta on April 30th.

May 12th, 1881. By the Treaty of Bardo the French established a protectorate over Tunis and, while guaranteeing the continuance of the native dynasty, secured the right of fortifying military posts when necessary and influencing the international and financial policy of the Bey.

C. Egypt.

November, 1875. Disraeli's purchase of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal greatly strengthened British influence.

September 4th, 1879. M. de Blignieres and Evelyn Baring¹ became joint directors of the control secured by Great Britain and France on the accession of Tewfik.

1882. Revolt of Arabi Pasha against Tewfik. The French refused to take part in the bombardment of Alexandria on July 11th or to share in the British campaign which ended with the defeat of Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir on September 13th, 1882. Great Britain now declared the joint control at an end and established a military occupation of Egypt.²

¹ Later Lord Cromer.

² *Notes on British History*, Vol. IV, page 933.

Granville promised, in 1883, that British troops should be withdrawn when possible but the promise was not carried out.

Their differences in Egypt led to strong antagonism between France and Great Britain which lasted for twenty-two years. This was skilfully utilised by Bismarck to promote the interests of Germany, and proved one of the reasons for the alliance made between France and Russia, which was also on bad terms with Great Britain, in 1893.¹

D. Madagascar.

September, 1862. A treaty was made by Madagascar with Great Britain and France.

1879-1882. Disputes arose owing to alleged ill-treatment of French subjects.

May and June, 1883. Admiral Pierre bombarded and captured Majunga and Tamatave.

August, 1885. The expedition of Brisson met with little success, partly owing to the inadequate support given by the Chamber of Deputies, but Admiral Miot made a treaty in December, 1885, which gave the French some control over the foreign policy of Madagascar.

E. Annam.

(1) The Annamese War, 1882-1883.

Tu-Duc, the Emperor of Annam, broke the treaty of 1874 and ill-treated French traders and missionaries.

April 25th, 1882. Henri Rivière, who had been sent against Tonquin, captured Hanoi.

The capture of Hanoi alarmed the Chinese, who claimed suzerainty over Annam. The piratical "Black Flags," with the connivance of China, strongly supported the Annamese.

May 20th, 1883. Rivière killed by the "Black Flags" while making a sortie from Hanoi.

¹ Page 75.

May 26th, 1883. Largely owing to the heroism of Rivière the Chamber granted 5,000,000 francs and sent a force of four thousand troops to Annam. Hué was bombarded and the "Black Flags" routed by Bouet in September.

August 25th, 1883. The Annamese made a treaty by which the French protectorate was again acknowledged.

(2) The Chinese War, 1883-1885.

December 1883. War broke out between France and China, which regarded the recent treaty as an infringement of her suzerainty over Annam.

May 11th, 1884. After General Millot had gained some successes over the Chinese, "Fournier's Convention" was made by which China recognised the French protectorate over Annam and promised to withdraw her garrisons from Tonquin, while France undertook to protect the southern frontier of China. Misunderstandings arose as to the withdrawal of Chinese garrisons.

June 23rd, 1884. Colonel Duchesne, advancing to occupy Langson, was defeated by the Chinese garrison.

March 28th, 1885. Defeat of General Négrier who evacuated Langson which he had taken in February. Consequent resignation of Ferry. Successful operations by Négrier and Courbet, who defeated the Chinese fleet at Foo Choo, restored French prestige.

June 9th, 1885. Largely owing to the friendly mediation of Sir Robert Hart peace was made. China finally recognised the protectorate of France over Tonquin and Annam.

F. Africa.

(1) The Congo.

Difficulties arose owing to the policy of Belgium¹ and, to a less extent, Portugal.²

¹ Page 346.

² Page 333.

King Leopold wished to form a new state on the Congo under Belgian rule and was strongly supported by the International Congo Association founded in 1882.

1880-1884. Explorations of de Brazza on the Congo.

1885. Difficulties had arisen because Great Britain, anxious to check France, had acknowledged the claim of Portugal to parts of the Congo Valley. France and Germany protested ; a Conference at Berlin recognised the Congo Free State, declared against the slave trade, and ordered that navigation on the Congo should be free to all nations. Occupation of territory was to be recognised as valid only if effective, and priority of claim justified a Power in claiming "a sphere of influence." This Conference had an important effect in defining the lines of future colonial development.

The French continued to occupy the French Congo.

(2) Senegal.

1882-1885. Desbordes and Gallieni extended French influence along the Senegal and defeated Samori and Amadhu, the Sultan of Segu. Access to Lake Tchad was thus secured.

G. Summary.

Largely owing to the efforts of individual explorers the French colonial empire had increased from 1878 to 1885. But the French were not anxious to extend their colonies ; the Chamber was induced with some difficulty to grant necessary supplies ; Grévy declared, in 1882, that France had got over the craze for distant adventures and "hungers for repose." But Ferry advocated a vigorous colonial policy and, although he lost office in 1885, his example was followed by later statesmen.

III. Colonial Expansion from 1885 to 1900.

The treaty concluded with Russia on December 23rd, 1893, strengthened the position of France in Europe and enabled France with less hesitation to take advantage of the work which had been steadily carried on by explorers.

A. Africa.

In Africa the French aimed at extending their territory eastward from Senegal and northward from the Congo and establishing a French Empire of the Sudan with outlets not only on the Mediterranean but also on the Red Sea. They thus aimed at cutting off from the interior the British settlements on the coast.

(1) Senegal.

a. The Hinterland.

French operations were hampered by the rivalry of the Royal Niger Company founded in 1882, but better relations were established by a treaty made between Great Britain and France at Busah in January, 1890.

1887-1889. The occupation of territory round Bissan-Dugu connected Senegal with the Ivory Coast and strengthened French influence on the Upper Niger.

March 17th, 1893. By arrangement with Great Britain the Ivory Coast became a French colony.

b. The Niger.

1890-1892. Successful journey of Monteil from the Niger to Kano, Lake Tchad and ultimately to Tripoli.

May, 1892-December, 1893. Dodds captured Dahomey; King Behanzin was exiled and, in February, 1894, a French governor of

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Dahomey was appointed. French influence was thus strengthened on the Lower Niger.

January, 1894. Bonnier entered Timbuktu. After the death of Bonnier Joffre re-entered Timbuktu on February 12th. French influence was thus strengthened on the Middle Niger.

March, 1899. A Convention between Great Britain and France settled their respective spheres of influence in West Africa and averted war between the two powers which French aggression on the Lower Niger had nearly caused in 1897.

(2) The Congo.

The Conference of Berlin, 1884-1885, had given French a base on the Lower Congo.

a. Towards Lake Tchad.

1887-1890. Advance northwards along the Ubanghi and Sanga Rivers towards Lake Tchad.

February, 1894. A treaty with Germany settled the boundary between the German Cameroons and the new French territory of which Monteil was governor.

March 21st, 1899. A Franco-British Convention recognised French authority in Tchad, Baghirmi and Kanem.

b. Towards the Red Sea.

1895. Sir Edward Grey had stated in the House of Commons that "any attempt to encroach upon the Nile Valley would be regarded as an unfriendly act."

The French attempted unsuccessfully to reach from Lake Tchad the Bahr-el-Ghazal, a tributary of the White Nile, and so to prevent the British from securing control of the Upper Nile.

July 10th, 1898. Marchand, in defiance of Great Britain, reached Fashoda from the Congo after a heroic march of 3000 miles in four years. Marchand hoisted the French flag at Fashoda.

September 18th, 1898. Kitchener, who had routed the Mahdi at Omdurman on September 2nd, 1898, reached Fashoda with 25,000 men. His arrival probably saved Marchand's small force from annihilation by the Arabs. He denied that Fashoda was French territory, hoisted the Egyptian flag and referred the question to the British Government for settlement. Lord Salisbury asserted that Fashoda was Egyptian territory which had been regained for its rightful sovereign from the Mahdists by British troops; the British forces on the spot were infinitely superior to the French. Delcassé yielded, fearing that persistence in the French claim to Fashoda would lead to war between France and Great Britain, in which the larger British fleet would certainly take the French colonies, and which would seriously hinder and perhaps prevent France from recovering Alsace-Lorraine.

December 11th, 1898. Delcassé ordered Marchand to leave Fashoda.

March 21st, 1899. The French made a treaty which satisfied Great Britain although it did not formally recognise the British supremacy in the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The French were greatly mortified by this rebuff which led to very bitter feeling against Great Britain.

B. Madagascar.

August 6th, 1890. The French protectorate recognised by Great Britain.

May-September, 1895. Duchesne defeated the Hovas, took Antananarivo and compelled Queen Ranavalona III to submit.

August 6th, 1896. France annexed Madagascar and, in spite of Salisbury's protests, imposed prohibitive tariffs and treated the natives with severity. —

C. Indo-China.

1885-1896. The incompetence of French officials led to repeated outbreaks, the repression of which involved the French Government in great expense.

October 3rd, 1893. A treaty was made with Siam which had resented the extension of French influence in Indo-China. The Siamese question led to difficulties with Great Britain which were amicably settled in 1893.

January 15th, 1896. A treaty between France and Great Britain, in which the latter made considerable concessions, settled the boundaries of Siam and defined the limits of French and British spheres of influence.

December, 1896. Doumer appointed Governor-General of Indo-China. He reorganised the Government by establishing a Legislative Council; greatly improved the financial system; pacified Tonquin. The country prospered under his wise rule and its foreign trade more than doubled between 1893 and 1902.

D. General.

By about 1900 the French colonial empire had grown from 804,000 to nearly 12,000,000 square kilometres, although much of the Sudan was valueless.

From 1885 to 1900 France had been conspicuously successful in the Sudan, had secured Madagascar and established her Indo-Chinese Empire. She had been unsuccessful in her attempt to establish French influence in the Nile Valley.

IV. Morocco.

Delcassé hoped to find in Morocco territorial compensation for the loss of French influence in Egypt.

A. General Conditions.**(1) Europe.**

Recent colonial extension had stimulated the interest of the French in their colonial empire. The colonial army had been strengthened in 1900 and Waldeck-Rousseau and Lanessan had improved the navy. Ill-feeling with England continued but Italy, weakened by the Abyssinian War, strongly sympathetic with the opposition to Ultramontaniam in France and hopeful that French money might help to improve her finances, was more friendly.

(2) Morocco.**a. Dangerous extension of French influence.**

The extension of French influence in Nigeria constituted a serious threat to the Moors of the Northern Sahara; the continuation of the French railway to Ain Sefra, of military roads to the South and the consequent extension of French power to the Touat in 1901, seemed to threaten Morocco from the East.

b. Moorish raids.

The boundary between Morocco and Algeria was purely artificial and the wild Moroccan tribes made many raids into Eastern Algeria.

c. Anarchy in Morocco.

Abdul Aziz was quite unable to maintain order among his turbulent subjects, and anarchy in Morocco not only prevented the development of its rich resources but might prove dangerous to Algeria and Spain and interfere with the commerce and strategic importance of the Straits of Gibraltar. France, Spain and Great Britain were directly interested in the welfare of Morocco and controlled over eighty per cent. of the trade of the Moroccan ports.

B. Treaties, 1901-1904.**(1) Italy.**

December, **1900**. Italy agreed to give France a free hand in Morocco and France undertook to offer no opposition to the extension of Italian power in Tripoli.

November 2nd, **1902**. Italy, by a secret Treaty of Neutrality, undertook to remain neutral if France went to war with another power.

(2) Abdul Aziz.

July 20th, **1901**. France agreed to support Abdul Aziz and to assist in the extension of his dominions.

(3) Great Britain.

August 8th, **1904**. France withdrew her claims to Egypt; Great Britain recognised the claim of France to intervene in Morocco on condition that the independence and territorial integrity of Morocco were maintained. Secret clauses, to which Spain assented, provided that if Abdul Aziz failed to establish effective government France should establish a protectorate over most of the country but that Spain should control the northern coast from the river Sebu to Melilla.

C. Algeciras, 1905.**(1) German intervention.**

Germany, which from **1882**¹ had adopted a vigorous colonial policy, learned of the secret clauses of the recent treaty and determined to get a share in Morocco, in which her interests were not political but commercial. She was encouraged in her attitude by the defeat of Russia, the chief ally of France, in the Russo-Japanese War, and the weakening of the French army owing to the recent reduction in military service.

March 31st, **1905**. The Emperor William II, in an interview with the Sultan at Tangier, declared that

¹ Page 105.

Germany required the maintenance of "an absolutely free Sultanate at Fez." He demanded that an International Conference should be held at Algeciras.

(2) The Conference.

Delcassé objected to a Conference and wished to negotiate directly with the Sultan. His colleagues agreed to the proposal for a Conference, fearing that a refusal might lead to war with Germany. Delcassé resigned on June 11th, 1905.

January 16th, 1906. A European Congress met at Algeciras. The demands of Germany were strongly supported by the German press, the Emperor and the Chancellor used violent language, and "it certainly looked as if Germany were determined, in the matter of the Morocco police, to require France to sacrifice her clearest rights and her most essential interests, or risk a rupture and a declaration of war."¹

April 7th, 1906. By the Act of Algeciras the Powers recognised the right of France to special authority in Morocco and she was authorised to organise a Moroccan police force in conjunction with Spain; France promised that all countries should enjoy equal trading rights in Morocco; the independence of the Sultanate of Fez was maintained.

Thus France had secured the reassertion of the Franco-British Treaty of 1904. But the nation was humiliated by the dismissal of her Foreign Minister as the result of the action of the German Emperor.

D. Agadir, 1911.

(1) Renewed anarchy.

The interference of Germany encouraged the Sultan to reject the reforms which the French desired to effect. Anarchy grew steadily worse. Sir Harry Maclean was kidnapped by brigands and ransomed by

¹ Bourgeois, page 352.

the British Government in 1907; in 1906 and 1907 leading French officials were assassinated.

1907. Murder of French workmen engaged on harbour works at Casablanca.

August, 1908. Mulai Hafid deposed his brother, Abdul Aziz.

September 25th, 1908. The French occupied Casablanca and arrested a number of deserters from the French Foreign Legion whom they found there.

(2) French intervention, 1911.

April, 1911. Mulai Hafid, who was besieged by rebels in Fez, appealed to France for financial and military help.

May, 1911. A French army of 40,000 men entered Morocco to help the Sultan.

June, 1911. A Spanish army occupied part of the Northern Coast.

(3) Agadir.

William II thought that the crisis afforded a further opportunity of humiliating the *Triple Entente*.¹ He knew that the *Entente* with Russia was unpopular in England and that further difficulties had arisen between Russia and Great Britain in Persia.

July 1st, 1911. Although France was acting in accordance with the Act of Algeciras, Germany determined to secure compensation for the increase of French influence and sent the gunboat *Panther* to Agadir on the south-western coast of Morocco, nominally to protect some German subjects.

(4) The Convention of Berlin.

November 4th, 1911. The Convention of Berlin, made largely owing to the friendly help of Great Britain, allowed the French to establish a protectorate in Morocco and thus consolidate their authority from

¹ Page 78.

won the hearts of the Parisians by his courtesy and tact and aroused a more kindly feeling towards Great Britain.

July, 1903. Cordial welcome given in London to President Loubet and Delcassé.

October 14th, 1903. An Arbitration Treaty established the *Entente Cordiale* between France and Great Britain.

April 8th, 1904. The *Entente Cordiale* strengthened by further agreements.

France recognised British supremacy in Egypt and gave up most of her fishing rights in Newfoundland. Great Britain recognised the paramount claim of France to influence in Morocco and ceded territory on the River Gambia. Spheres of influence were defined in West Africa and confirmed in Siam.

The *Entente Cordiale* removed the probability of war between the two countries by settling long-standing difficulties in Africa, America and Asia; the friendship of France helped to settle the difficulties between Great Britain and Russia which arose from the Dogger Bank episode of October 21st, 1904. Strictly it was not a treaty of alliance, but by removing serious difficulties and establishing friendly feelings between the two countries which had been estranged it paved the way for a closer union. It was a defensive measure, and von Bülow said in the *Reichstag*: "From the point of view of German interests we have no objection to make to it." But the secret clauses of the *Entente*, which provided for the practical partition of Morocco between Spain and France if the power of the Sultan collapsed, caused strong resentment in Berlin.

V. The Triple Entente,¹ 1907.

A. German overtures to Russia.

Germany was anxious to stir up discord between Russia and Great Britain, the two allies of France. In

¹ See also page 138. .

October, 1904, William II urged Nicholas to form a league of Germany, France and Russia against Great Britain.

July 24th, 1905. William persuaded Nicholas to agree to the Treaty of Björko which provided that Germany and Russia should help each other if attacked by any European power ; that Russia should try to induce France to agree to the treaty.

The Czar's ministers compelled him to annul the treaty which was contrary to the terms of the *Dual Entente* between France and Russia.

B. The *Triple Entente*.

The crushing defeat of Russia by Japan made a Russian advance on India unlikely ; both Russia and Great Britain viewed with alarm the growth of the German military and naval power ; both had supported France at Algieras in 1906 ; they held similar views with regard to Macedonia ; the old British tradition of friendship with Turkey was broken ; both resented the extension of German influence in Mahommedan countries ; both were allies of France ; Great Britain and France, in 1906, greatly helped Russia by very large loans.

1907. Friendly visit of Edward VII to Nicholas II at Reval.

August 31st, 1907. An agreement was made at St. Petersburg between Great Britain and Russia which settled all questions which had arisen as to Russian and British interests in Persia¹ and on the North-West frontier of India. The history of Europe was to be profoundly affected by the fact that Russia now turned her attention from Persia and the Far East to the Balkans.

Thus the *Dual Entente* had become the *Triple Entente* and the union of Great Britain with Russia, the determined opponent of Austria in the Balkans, and France,

¹ Page 282.

which was determined to recover Alsace-Lorraine, proved the decisive turning-point in the period of armed peace, and war became practically inevitable. Two rival leagues had been formed in Europe; Germany was no longer able to act as arbiter between the Dual Alliance and Great Britain, and became merely the leader of the weaker league.

VI. The International Importance of the Moroccan Crises.

A. Algeciras, 1906.

William II hoped to take advantage of the defeat of Russia by Japan to weaken the *Dual Entente* of 1904, to check the influence of France in Northern Africa, to secure a foothold in Morocco and thus to gain some control over the trade routes of the Mediterranean and South Atlantic.

Although the Emperor practically secured the resignation of Delcassé his plan failed.

(1) The *Dual Entente* maintained.

The recent Franco-British settlement¹ was maintained. Both Britain and Russia supported France; their common action promoted better feeling between the two countries, which was strengthened when Britain refused to co-operate with Germany in the Bagdad Railway to which Russia objected. The establishment of more friendly relations was soon followed by the *Triple Entente*, to which William II's action in Morocco indirectly contributed.

(2) The Triple Alliance weakened.

Italy supported Great Britain and France. Germany received support only from Austria.

B. Agadir, 1911.

William II's disregard for a treaty in which Great Britain had been interested, his aggressive attitude

¹ Page 77.

towards France and his reluctance to allow Great Britain to be consulted about the Agadir question, led to serious danger of war between Great Britain and Germany. It greatly strengthened the *Entente* between the former and France.

July 21st, 1911. Lloyd George asserted at the Guildhall that peace at the price of the neglect of British interests would be "a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure." The war that broke out in September, 1911, between Italy, a member of the Triple Alliance, and Turkey, a country friendly to Germany, deprived the latter of any help from Turkey. A financial crisis in Berlin increased the difficulties of Germany and compelled her to forgo any compensation in Morocco.

In spite of the territory she gained in the Congo,¹ Germany was humiliated and the Triple Alliance suffered a rebuff greater than that suffered by the *Triple Entente* about Bosnia in 1908.² For the first time since 1870 German arrogance had failed to secure its object. The Berlin *Post* expressed national feeling by calling the Kaiser "ce poltron miserable."

VII. Naval Agreement with Great Britain.

October, 1912. The transference of the French Atlantic fleet to the Mediterranean practically committed Great Britain to defend the French northern and western coasts from attack. The *Entente* became almost a defensive alliance.

VIII. The Army strengthened.

1913. To meet the growing military power of Germany the period of military service in the French army was raised from two years to three.

¹ Page 71.

² Page 218.

IX. General.

Agadir was a distinct step towards Armageddon. The leading Powers now formed two hostile camps and there was no Power which could mediate between them. War was averted but neither the Alliance nor the *Entente* could again endure public humiliation without grave loss of prestige. The next difference would probably lead to war.

But in a future war Italy would be a doubtful supporter of Germany, while Turkey, alarmed by Russian designs on Constantinople, would certainly join the opponents of Russia.

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SECTION II
GERMANY, 1871-1914

BISMARCK AND THE NATIONAL LIBERALS

I. General.

The German Empire consisted of twenty-five federal states which, while surrendering to the Imperial Government the control of foreign, commercial and colonial policy and of railway and postal services, and a large measure of control of military arrangements, retained large powers of local authority. The parliaments of individual states kept their authority over religion, education and taxation and never sank to the position of provincial assemblies. Bavaria, Württemberg and Saxony received special authority over their own armies; could by uniting their votes prevent the *Bundesrat* from passing any measure of which they disapproved; shared with Prussia the membership of the *Bundesrat* Committee of foreign affairs.

After 1871 Bismarck wished "to consolidate the Empire, Prussianize the lesser states, and destroy local particularism by the uniform pressure of a centralized bureaucracy and the development of an uniform economic and social system."¹

A. The Constitution of the Empire.²

(1) The *Bundesrat*.

The *Bundesrat* or Federal Council consisted of sixty-two representatives and was appointed by the federal states; it appointed committees to deal with different departments of public affairs and discussed laws before they were submitted to the *Reichstag*. Its deliberations were secret.

¹ Lodge and Horne, *History of Modern Europe* (John Murray), page 342.

² See also *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 396.

(2) The *Reichstag*.

The *Reichstag* consisted of 382 ¹ members elected by universal suffrage and secret ballot in proportion to the population of the various states.

Its powers were restricted to approving, rejecting or amending laws, and imposing or refusing new taxes including the annual budget. It exercised no authority over the Imperial Chancellor.

(3) The Emperor.

The King of Prussia was *ipso facto* German Emperor and controlled the Executive. He appointed the Imperial Chancellor, who presided over the *Bundesrat* but was not a member of the *Reichstag*; the Chancellor was practically the only Imperial minister who exercised real authority.

The government was constitutional but not responsible.

(4) The position of Bismarck.

Bismarck was Imperial Chancellor from 1871 to 1890; he was Minister-President of Prussia from 1862 to 1890, except when von Roon held this office in 1872-73. As Minister-President he was compelled to consult the responsible ministers of Prussia; as Chancellor he had no such restrictions on his actions.

B. Parties in the *Reichstag*.

Serious differences of opinion continued in Germany. Some objected to the Empire; some wished to develop Parliamentary institutions; Socialism was a growing force, particularly in the industrial towns; many states were jealous of Prussia; the Junkers were particularists and objected to the merging of Prussia in Germany; Roman Catholics strongly resented the weakening of the

¹ Increased to 397 in 1874 when representatives from Alsace-Lorraine attended.

power of the Pope in Italy and accepted the Vatican Decrees.¹

Owing to these differences a number of groups were formed in the *Reichstag*. Bismarck would have liked to have formed a Bismarck party on whose support he could always rely. He found this impossible and worked at different times with different groups according as his policy required.

(1) Anti-Imperial Groups.

a. National.

The Poles, Schleswig-Danes and Alsace-Lorrainers were hostile to the Empire of which they were unwilling members.

b. Dynastic.

The Hanoverian Guelphs resented the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hanover.

c. Socialists.

The Socialists were weakened by differences between Karl Marx, whose book *Das Capital* appeared in 1867, and Ferdinand Lassalle, who had founded the Universal German Working Men's Association.² They held only two seats in 1871, and for some years they aimed rather at spreading Socialism in the country than at securing representatives. They did not take an active part in the *Reichstag* until about 1890.

(2) Supporters of the Empire.

a. The Conservatives.

The Junkers, who controlled the Prussian Upper House, wished to maintain the authority of the king and the privileges of the aristocracy. Their strength lay in the agricultural districts;

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 466.

² *Deutscher allgemeiner Arbeiterverein*.

the *Kreuzzeitung* was their organ. They were a particularist party composed solely of Prussians, and were "Prussian rather than German." They had strongly supported Bismarck but resented the establishment of the Empire which, they thought, involved the degradation of Prussia; objected to the subjection of the Church to the State, the institution of civil marriage and the introduction, in 1872, of new measures of local government which deprived landowners of the judicial and police powers they had long exercised on their own domains and vested local authority in elected bodies which could impose local taxation. Bismarck carried the new laws by creating new peers and swamping the Junker majority in the Prussian Upper House. He thus broke with his old supporters and was virulently attacked by the *Kreuzzeitung*.

b. German Imperialists.

These were also known as Free Conservatives and steadily supported Bismarck.

c. The National Liberals.

The National Liberals formed a middle-class, imperialist, anti-clerical party and represented the general sense of the German people. They strongly advocated national union; wished to convert the Prussian monarchy and the German Empire into Parliamentary Governments; they advocated Free Trade and a reduction of excise duties. In Prussia they supported freedom of the press, the extension of popular local government and the abolition of clerical control over education. In 1871 they had 120 representatives in the *Reichstag*; this did not give them an absolute majority

but they received the support of moderate Conservatives in matters of foreign policy and the defence of the Empire, and of the Progressives in matters of internal policy.

d. The Progressives, *Fortschrittspartei*.

These formed the left wing of the Liberals and opposed the bureaucracy and the military system. They strongly advocated Free Trade. They included the representatives of many of the great cities.

e. The Centre.

(i) Religious policy.

The Centre, which numbered fifty-eight members in 1871, was a small but active and well-organised party which depended on the steady support of the Catholic priests. It was composed of extreme Catholics and Ultramontanes; it accepted the Vatican Decrees; its main objects were to uphold the Catholic religion, to support the Papacy, to maintain or extend the power of the clergy and to resist all attempts to strengthen lay authority over the Church. It urged the King, in 1871, to help the Pope to regain his temporal power.

(ii) Political policy.

Unlike the National Liberals the Centre tended towards federalism. It had strong democratic leanings and at times combined with the *Fortschrittspartei*; it was hostile towards the Government and therefore gained some assistance from Hanoverian Guelphs, Poles and Alsace-Lorrainers; with these additions it at times mustered 130 votes and was thus able to exercise strong influence in the

Reichstag. Windthorst, a Hanoverian Guelph, was one of its most prominent members.

C. Bismarck and the National Liberals.

From 1871 to 1877 Bismarck strove to establish the unity of the Empire on a sure foundation. This necessitated alliance with the National Liberals and opposition to his old supporters the Conservatives, who tended towards Prussian particularism, and to the Centre who favoured some measure of federalism. Bismarck's struggle with the Centre in the Prussian Parliament and the *Reichstag* was the most important episode in this period.

II. The *Kulturkampf*.

A. The Problem of the Authority of the Church.

(1) Independence of Prussian clergy.

The Prussian Constitution of 1850 had given a large measure of independence to the Catholic Church including the control of the clergy and the direction of religious instruction in primary schools. The growth of the Centre party was due largely to the great influence the Catholic Church had acquired. The Centre was anxious to persuade the *Reichstag* to give to all clergy within the Empire the privileges they enjoyed in Prussia.

(2) The Old Catholics.

An important minority of German Catholics, led by Döllinger, had refused to accept the doctrine of Papal Infallibility¹ and had formed Old Catholic communions which seemed likely to develop into a German Catholic Church independent of the Papacy.

September 22nd, 1871. Three hundred Old German communions were represented at a congress held at Munich.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 468.

(3) The beginning of the *Kulturkampf*.

The Catholic bishops, acting under orders from the Pope, dismissed from their posts and excommunicated Döllinger and other Catholic professors and teachers who had joined the Old Catholic movement. The Government, which did not approve of the Vatican Decrees, refused to sanction the dismissal of Old Catholic teachers.

September, 1871. The bishops protested against the action of the Government.

Thus the *Kulturkampf* began as a conflict about the limits of Church authority.

(4) The Pulpit Paragraph.¹

December, 1871. The *Reichstag* limited the right of the clergy to discuss political questions in their sermons.

(5) Cardinal Hohenlohe.

1872. Pope Pius IX refused to accept as German ambassador to the Papal Court Cardinal Hohenlohe, who had tried to induce the Governments of Europe to prevent the passing of the Vatican Decrees.

May 14th, 1872. Bismarck, speaking on the Pope's action, declared "We will not go to Canossa."²

The Pope protested against the persecution of the Catholic Church in Germany.

(6) The breach with Rome.

July, 1872. Expulsion of the Jesuits from Germany.

December, 1872. The German ambassador was recalled from the Vatican and diplomatic relations with the Pope were broken off.

¹ *Kanzelparagraph*.

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. I, page 126.

B. The Political Aspect of the *Kulturkampf*.

Bismarck declared that the *Kulturkampf* was a political rather than a religious struggle. He considered that the unity of the Empire was endangered by the federalism of the Centre; he resented the union of the Centre with the Poles, Guelphs and Alsace-Lorrainers who were avowed opponents of the Empire, and he thought that the rightful authority of the State was impaired by the attitude of the Church. He declared: "The question at issue is not a struggle of an Evangelical dynasty against the Catholic Church; it is the old struggle . . . a struggle for power as old as the human race . . . between king and priest." But whatever his own views were he received strong support from Protestants who hated Rome, as well as from those who advocated the unqualified assertion of the authority of the State over the Church.

C. The Falk Laws, 1873-1875.

The Falk Laws, sometimes called the May Laws, were carried in the Prussian Parliament by Adalbert Falk, Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction.¹

(1) May, 1873.

The law of May, 1873, forbade public excommunication, referred appeals from ecclesiastical decisions to lay tribunals, required theological students to take a course in general knowledge, ordered Church appointments to be notified to the civil authority and gave the State a veto over them.

(2) May, 1874.

Owing to the failure of bishops to notify appointments such failure was made punishable and provision was made for the administration of vacant bishoprics.

¹ *Kultusminister.*

[1874. Obligatory civil marriage was established for the German Empire by imperial decree.]

Imprisonment of a number of Catholic bishops and clergy for refusing to comply with the law. Pius IX issued the Bull *Quod Nunquam* which declared the recent laws against the clergy invalid and led to—

(3) May, 1875,

New laws which withheld the payment of salaries to bishops and clergy who refused to submit; dissolved all monasteries in Prussia; abolished the privileges granted to the clergy by the Constitution of 1850.

D. Failure of the *Kulturkampf*.

Bismarck's policy failed, partly owing to the unswerving hostility of Pius IX, but mainly because of the stubborn resistance of German Catholics. Imprisonment failed to weaken the opposition of bishops and clergy and nearly half the Catholic parishes in Prussia lost the services of their clergy. The Prussian Conservatives opposed the *Kulturkampf*; there was strong opposition at Court, the Emperor was lukewarm, the Empress Augusta definitely hostile.

III. The Consolidation of the Empire.

The support of the National Liberals enabled Bismarck to consolidate the Empire.

A. Economic Measures.

1873. A uniform system of imperial coinage was adopted with the mark as the unit.

1876. Establishment of the *Reichsbank* as the official bank of the Empire.

December 31st, 1876. The last protective duties were abolished.

B. Law and Justice.

The different codes (Prussian, Roman, the Code Napoléon, Saxon) which had led to great diversity were superseded by imperial codes administered in accordance with common procedure.

1870. An imperial penal code was introduced.

1873. An imperial civil code, uniform procedure in civil and criminal cases and uniform organisation of justice were established.¹

C. Some Compromises.

Neither Bismarck nor the National Liberals obtained all they wanted.

The National Liberals failed to secure responsible ministries ; they voted for criminal laws which Bismarck used to punish his opponents, and passed a press law which punished criticism of the Government.

1874. Bismarck failed to induce the *Reichstag* to vote a perpetual law which would have provided army supplies for ever without further Parliamentary sanction. But it voted the "Military Septennate" which granted supplies for seven years.

IV. Bismarck offers his Resignation.

Bismarck felt that he had not secured all the advantages he had expected from the National Liberals. He was bitterly disappointed at the failure of the *Kulturkampf*. He viewed with alarm the spread of Socialism and favoured vigorous measures of repression. He doubted whether under a Free Trade system he could secure an adequate imperial revenue and was much concerned at the injury done to agriculture by the free importation of Russian corn. English competition had seriously injured German manufactures and the iron trade. Bismarck gradually turned towards Protection.

¹ But the civil code did not come into force until 1900.

April, 1877. Bismarck sent in his resignation. William I wrote "never" on his letter and refused to allow Bismarck to resign.

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BISMARCK'S DOMESTIC POLICY, 1878-1890

I. Party Changes.

A. National Liberals.

(1) Breach with Bismarck.

The retirement, in 1876, of Delbrück, President of the Imperial Chancery and a confirmed Free Trader, to whom the recent development of Free Trade was largely due, showed that Bismarck's opinions were changing.

In 1877 the National Liberals refused to vote the Excise duties on cards and tobacco, which Bismarck advocated, unless he created an imperial ministry. This was the immediate cause of his resignation in April, 1877.

(2) The Liberal split.

The measures of Protection that Bismarck introduced after 1879, and the repressive measures he adopted against Socialists, displeased the extreme Liberals. But some National Liberals continued to support Bismarck, partly owing to his masterful personality, partly because they sympathised with his measures of social reform.

1884. The extreme Liberals joined the Progressives and the Left showed bitter hostility to Bismarck's policy and person.

B. The Centre and the Conservatives.

The repeal of most of the May Laws and the cordial relations established between Bismarck and Pope Leo XIII (**1878-1903**) secured for him a considerable measure of support from the Centre. Most of the Conservatives were won over by his attempt to protect agriculture against foreign competition.

Constitutional development was affected by Bismarck's new relations. "Liberal tendencies towards centralisation under Parliamentary supremacy were abandoned. The further development of imperial institutions proceeded rather on the federalistic lines advocated by the Centre."¹

C. The *Kartel*, 1887.

The Boulanger crisis² led Bismarck to ask for a renewal of the Military Septennate and an increase of 41,000 men in the army.

The Imperialists, Conservatives and some National Liberals united, after the elections of **1887**, in the *Kartel* which secured 220 seats out of 395, supported the Septennate and gave Bismarck a majority in the *Reichstag*.

II. The end of the *Kulturkampf*.

Bismarck, realising that the *Kulturkampf* had failed and desiring to secure new supporters in the *Reichstag* instead of the National Liberals, made friendly overtures to Leo XIII and won over the Centre by abolishing most of the May Laws.

1890. The Prussian Parliament gave the Government the right of dispensing with the laws.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*.

² Page 82.

1880-1893. Gradual withdrawal of the May Laws, but civil marriage remained and the clergy did not regain the privileges they had secured in **1850**.

The stubborn resistance of the great body of German Catholics and of the Centre, his growing fear of Socialism and the loss of the support of most of the National Liberals had made Bismarck "go to Canossa." But the tact of Leo XIII had alleviated the discomforts of the journey.

III. Bismarck and Socialism.¹

Industrial distress following a financial crisis in **1873** and the union of the followers of Marx and Lassalle in **1875** had promoted the spread of Socialism. At the elections of **1877** the Socialists polled 498,000 votes and secured twelve seats in the *Reichstag*. German Socialism was a revolutionary class movement aiming at the overthrow of government and society. Unsuccessful attempts to assassinate the Emperor in May and June, **1878**, although condemned by the Socialist leaders, were probably due to the effect of Socialist propaganda and the criminals were Socialists.

A. Repressive Legislation.

Bismarck took advantage of the indignation caused by the attempt of May, **1878**, to introduce a law forbidding all Socialist agitation. It was thrown out by the *Reichstag* where only the Conservatives supported it. Bismarck dissolved the *Reichstag* after the attempt of June. _

(1) The Socialists' Act, **1878**.

October, **1878**. The new *Reichstag* passed a Socialists' Act ² forbidding all associations or meetings which aimed at the "subversion of the social order"; authorising the police to seize Socialist papers and to prohibit or break up Socialist meetings; empowering

¹ Page 87c.

² *Sozialistengesetz*.

the Government to proclaim a state of siege in large towns. The law was twice re-enacted and lasted until 1890.

The law was severely enforced. A state of siege was proclaimed in Berlin and other towns ; from 1878 to 1890 fourteen hundred publications were suppressed, nine hundred Socialists exiled and fifteen hundred imprisoned.

(2) Continued growth of Socialism.

The Act destroyed the external organisation of the Socialists who secured only 310,000 votes in the election of 1881. But the movement was only checked and not crushed ; it continued in choral societies, smokers' circles and working men's associations ; large numbers of the *Social Democrat*, published in Switzerland, were smuggled into Germany. In the elections of 1884 the Socialists polled 550,000 votes and gained twelve seats in the *Reichstag* ; in 1890 they received 1,427,000 votes and gained twenty-four seats. In 1896 they held fifty-six seats and were the largest party but one in the *Reichstag*.

B. Bismarck's Social Policy.

In order to counteract Socialist agitation Bismarck adopted a policy of constructive Social Reform for which he hoped his new policy of Protection would supply the funds. He endeavoured by State action to promote the welfare of the working classes and thus to show them that the State was "not only necessary but benevolent."

Bismarck "accepted the capitalist system of industry and the division of society into rich and poor as a natural and permanent arrangement, but considered it the duty of the State to better the condition of the working people by special laws."

Public opinion had been prepared for such a policy by the teaching of Professors Wagner, Schäffle and others ; it was strongly supported by the Conservative Christian Socialists led by the Court-preacher Stöcker.

The *Reichstag* instituted insurance against illness in 1883, against accident in 1884 and old age in 1889.

Liberals viewed with alarm the extension of State interference; the laws "mitigated the keenness of social discontent," but Socialism continued to spread and the working classes did not, in gratitude, give to the Government the support which Bismarck had hoped to secure.

IV. Bismarck and Protection.

A. Causes of Bismarck's Change of Policy.

(1) Commercial.

Up to 1879 Bismarck's financial measures had been based on Free Trade. But great injury had been done to German trade and agriculture by foreign competition and grave commercial crises had occurred in 1874 and, in the iron trade, in 1876.

Bismarck thought that Germany "was bleeding to death" under Free Trade. He ascribed the recent development of American industry to Protection and considered that Great Britain now advocated Free Trade, which was really the right of the most powerful, only because she had already by Protection made herself the most powerful commercial nation in the world.

(2) The source of Imperial Revenue.

Some customs duties had been used for imperial purposes but these proved inadequate and were supplemented by payments from individual states which were raised by direct taxation. The Empire had to "beg at the door of the states."

Bismarck disliked direct taxation; he feared that recent increases in the contributions of individual states might cause discontent with the new Constitution and thought that the increase in emigration from Germany to the United States was partly due to resentment at the increase of direct taxes. He

asserted that failure to pay taxes led to one million cases of distraint every year.

(3) Cost of Social Reform.

Bismarck hoped that a Protective System would not only assist German trade and meet imperial requirements but also enable him to meet the cost of his new scheme of Social Reform.

B. Protective Measures.

Germany, hitherto a Free Trade State, became Protectionist.

(1) The Tariff of 1879.

1879. A low duty on imported corn, increased later, assisted agriculture and an import duty on foreign goods protected manufactures.

This tariff secured the support of the Conservatives and Centre and led to a split in the National Liberal party.

(2) A State monopoly of Tobacco.

Bismarck wished to increase imperial revenues by making tobacco a State monopoly, but his proposals were rejected by the National Liberals in **1877** and the Conservatives and Centre in **1881**.

C. State Intervention.

(1) Railway policy.

The jealousy of individual states prevented Bismarck from making all railways the property of the Empire and thus abolishing differential rates imposed by various states.

But he succeeded in Prussia and the Prussian railways became the property of the Prussian State which, by reducing fares and improving the service of trains, greatly helped trade.

(2) Subventions.

The subventions granted to steamship lines promoted German colonial policy.¹ From 1871 to 1906 the tonnage of German sea-going vessels rose from under a million to nearly two and a half million tons ; that of steamships from under one hundred thousand to nearly two million tons.

D. Remarkable Industrial Development, 1870-1906.

(1) Germany becomes an industrial country.

Between 1870 and 1906 Germany became a great industrial state and the development of industry led to the growth of large towns and changed Germany from a poor into a rich country ; from 1891 to 1906 the value of German trade increased from about £300,000,000 to £700,000,000. But agriculture, although relatively less important, continued to flourish owing to Protection which greatly assisted the growth of German manufactures.

(2) Some details.

From 1870 to 1906 the demand for coal rose from 26,000,000 tons to 137,000,000 tons ; the production of pig-iron increased tenfold ; between 1900 and 1909 German merchant shipping increased sixty-two per cent. and the capital invested in shipping was more than doubled. The amount of exports and imports increased enormously.

(3) Some results.

a. Rivalry with Great Britain.

Germany became a serious industrial rival of Great Britain and the United States.

b. The problem of population.

The growth of population, which rose from 41,000,000 to 65,000,000 between 1871 and

¹ Page 104.

1910, has rendered the problem of subsistence very acute, for Germany is not a very fertile country and the development of agriculture has been hampered accordingly. For a time emigration did something to relieve the pressure, but the ultimate solution was found in the development of industry as a means of purchasing food supplies.

(4) Socialism.

The increase in the working classes was an important cause of the spread of Socialism.

V. The *Kartel*, 1887-1890.

The Progressives, who objected to Protection, strongly opposed Bismarck's colonial policy; the Centre had refused, in 1886, to renew the Military Septennate. Bismarck dissolved the *Reichstag* in January, 1887.

He now relied on a new political grouping—the *Kartel* of the Imperialists, Conservatives and some National Liberals. It gained a majority of forty-five in the elections of 1887 and controlled the *Reichstag* until the elections of 1890, in which it secured only one hundred and thirty-five seats.

1887. The Military Septennate was renewed and Pope Leo XIII, whom Bismarck had conciliated by restoring the religious orders in Prussia, censured the Centre for its continued opposition.

1888-1890. Bismarck continued his social legislation and legislation against Socialists.

VI. The Fall of Bismarck.¹

A. The Death of William I.

March 9th, 1888. Death of William I just before his ninety-first birthday. Bismarck's position was seriously weakened by the loss of the strong support he had long received from the Emperor with whom he was on terms of the closest personal friendship.

¹ See also page 116.

B. Frederick III.

The new Emperor strongly favoured the Liberals; he wished to establish Parliamentary Government on English lines and disapproved of the policy of Protection which Bismarck had adopted in 1879. His views were shared by the Empress Victoria, the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria, and both Frederick and Victoria had little love for Bismarck. But the Emperor, who was suffering from cancer, reigned only ninety days. Bismarck kept his position and prevented a marriage between Princess Victoria of Prussia and Prince Alexander of Battenberg which the Empress favoured. But the Emperor's action in dismissing Puttkammer, the Minister of the Interior and a relative of Bismarck's wife, for interference with elections, suggests that if the Emperor had lived he would have tried to give to Germany a greater measure of freedom than Bismarck thought desirable.

June 15th, 1888. Death of Frederick III. Accession of William II at the age of twenty-nine.

C. William II.

Bismarck strongly disapproved of the tempestuous energy of the young Emperor; he objected to the Emperor's plan to call an International Conference to consider labour legislation; the Emperor refused to pass more stringent laws against the Socialists as Bismarck wished; the Emperor refused to adopt Bismarck's suggestion that a new union of Conservatives and Catholics should be formed to succeed the *Kartel*; the Emperor claimed the right of discussing State affairs directly with the ministers concerned without informing Bismarck who, as Chancellor, was responsible for the acts of Imperial and, as Minister-President, of Prussian ministers. Serious differences arose between William II and Bismarck as to foreign policy.¹

¹ Page 116 G.

The final breach was due to the Emperor's attitude to the ministers which Bismarck considered degraded the offices of Chancellor and Minister-President. But the fundamental reason for Bismarck's fall was the fact that there was not room on the political stage for two men as fond of power as the Emperor and himself. Bismarck "was in the Emperor's way" and had to go.

March 18th, 1890. Resignation of Bismarck. Caprivi became Chancellor. The Emperor's personal rule began.

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Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. vi, section 2.

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BISMARCK'S COLONIAL AND FOREIGN POLICY

I. Colonial Policy.

After 1870 Bismarck's main objects were to promote the internal development of Germany and to maintain peace. His interests were European. In 1873 he said that "colonies would only be a cause of weakness, because they could only be defended by powerful fleets and Germany's geographical position did not necessitate her development into a first-class maritime power." In 1884 he declared "I am not a colony man."

But circumstances compelled him to embark on a policy of colonial expansion. German colonies would assist home industries by providing raw materials and purchasing manufactured goods; they would supply a home for emigrants of whom 200,000 left Germany every year; many of those emigrants lost their German nationality.

A growing sense of national power, due largely to industrial and commercial prosperity, led to a demand that that power should be used in the interests of

Germany. The Government was not very strong in the *Reichstag*; State Socialism had aroused strong opposition. The colonial policy of Bismarck was due largely to the pressure of public opinion and the desire to show that the policy of the Government "was based on true German interests."

The possibility of establishing colonies in China was not yet realised, but the discoveries of H. M. Stanley and the schemes of King Leopold II had shown the value of the Congo basin; the activity of France and Italy in Northern Africa, the growing influence of Great Britain in Egypt and the success of British colonies, particularly in South Africa, stimulated the determination of Germans to secure part of Africa. Colonial expansion was strongly advocated in the press and the German Colonial Society was established in December, 1882.

"It is more than possible that the realisation of the value of distracting the powers from the European situation" may partly account for Bismarck's new policy.

The development of German colonies was facilitated by the resentment caused in France by the British occupation of Egypt. Great Britain needed support "against the indignation of France and the jealousy of Russia. This could be found only in Germany," and Bismarck made acquiescence in the extension of German colonies a condition of German support.

Bismarck left the initiative to private companies and individuals but the German Government protected its colonists from interference by any other power.

A. East Africa—Zanzibar.

(1) Germany secures territory at Zanzibar.

1884. Dr. Peters landed at Zanzibar and secured a grant of 60,000 square miles.

1886. Formation under Government charter of the German East Africa Company to develop the colony.

The British East Africa Company was established to protect British interests.

October, 1890. Owing to a serious Arab revolt the German Government superseded the German East Africa Company and Zanzibar became an imperial colony.

(2) Germany and Great Britain.

Great Britain had helped Germany to secure territory from the Sultan of Zanzibar but in December, 1884, prevented her from securing St. Lucia Bay in Zululand and the Portuguese colony of Delagoa Bay as bases for additional colonies.

July 1st, 1890. An agreement between the two countries recognised German claims to the Kilimanjaro district but excluded Germany from the Upper Nile. Britain declared a protectorate over the island of Zanzibar.

B. South Africa.

1883. Luderitz, a Bremen merchant, occupied Angra Pequena and two hundred and fifteen square miles of territory north of the Orange River.

April 24th, 1884. Bismarck proclaimed a German protectorate over the coast from Angra Pequena to the Orange River.

The British Government, which had neglected to occupy the territory, partly through fear that if they opposed the new German colony Germany would adopt an unfriendly attitude towards her Egyptian policy, recognised German sovereignty. Strong resentment was felt in Cape Colony.

C. West Africa.

1884. Dr. Nachtigall made treaties with native chiefs, to whom Britain had refused protection.

May 7th, 1885. Great Britain recognised German

sovereignty over the Cameroons. Germany withdrew her claims to St. Lucia Bay and Delagoa Bay.

D. The Pacific.

The later years of the nineteenth century were marked by the extension in the Pacific Ocean of the authority of European Powers and the United States.

(1) New Guinea.

1884. Germany annexed the North of New Guinea, Kaiser Wilhelm's Land; Great Britain annexed the remainder. Strong resentment was aroused in Australia by the action of Germany.

(2) Germany, France and Great Britain.

1885-1886. The three Powers agreed that spheres of influence should be arranged in the Pacific. Germany secured the Marshall Islands and much of Melanesia; France secured Melanesian islands around New Caledonia and Polynesian around the Society Islands; Great Britain secured a sphere of influence extending from South-East Melanesia and Micronesia over Polynesia.

(3) The Carolines.

1886. A dispute between Germany and Spain as to the possession of the Carolines was referred to the arbitration of Pope Leo XIII who decided in favour of Spain.

E. General.

By **1890** "Europe was on the eve of an effort to re-adjust the whole European State system and the international relations of the armed nations to the new ideas of power, and of empires based on a modern colonial mercantilism."

Bismarck had been compelled by the economic conditions and expanding material resources of Germany to

adopt a colonial policy and to become, almost in his own despite, the founder of the German Colonial Empire.

Bismarck thought that in return for the neutrality he observed in the colonial struggle between Great Britain and France he was entitled to more consideration than he received from the former. British ministers resented both Bismarck's methods and the success that attended them, but their lack of energy weakened their opposition. The result was a growing feeling of resentment between the two countries.

II. Bismarck's Foreign Policy, 1871-1879.

After the overthrow of France Germany was "satiated." Bismarck saw that peace was essential to enable Germany to organise and consolidate her new Empire. Bismarck feared that the desire of France to secure revenge on Germany might lead to a new war and, although Germany was strong enough to defend herself, he resolved to make European alliances which would isolate France.

A. The Understanding of 1872.

(1) Germany and Russia.

Germany and Russia had been on friendly terms since 1802; the neutrality of Russia had protected the rear of Germany during the Franco-German War; William I was on most friendly terms with his nephew Alexander II.

The memory of the Crimean War continued and Alexander II was annoyed by the strong protests made in France against Russia's attitude towards Poland; Alexander II felt that Germany, Austria and Russia should unite to uphold the "sacred cause of Royalty" against Socialism and Liberalism in France and England.

(2) Germany and Austria.

Bismarck now reaped the reward of the moderation he had shown towards Austria after her defeat in 1866¹; Austria was largely German and Germany was interested in the maintenance of the *Ausgleich* of 1867² which favoured the Magyars and Germans at the expense of the Slav population of Austria. Austria's policy of extension towards the South-East did not conflict with the interests of Germany.

(3) The Understanding.

September, 1872. The three Emperors at Berlin came to an understanding to maintain peace and uphold the existing situation.

[1873. Victor Emmanuel visited Berlin.]

No formal treaty was formed; the new arrangement was an understanding³ not a league.⁴ But "Bismarck had secured the vulnerable flank of Germany in the East; he had drawn the constitutional Kingdom of Italy from gravitating towards the sister Latin race; France was without an ally" for Great Britain was separated from France and, though not on good terms with Russia, maintained cordial relations with Germany.

The arrangement marks the beginning of the policy of "competing European alliances," which balanced one combination of states against another and which played an important part in the Great War.

B. Weakening of the Alliance between the Emperors.

(1) Balkan problems.

Russia wished to break up the Turkish Empire and to secure Constantinople; Austria wanted to maintain the Turkish Empire but to obtain Serbia and Salonika.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 388.

² *Ibid.*, page 368.

³ *Dreikaiserverhältnisse*.

⁴ *Dreikaiserbund*.

The policy of Russia and Austria in the Near East was irreconcilable.

1876. Alexander II bluntly asked if Germany would remain neutral if war broke out between Russia and Austria. Bismarck replied that Germany would not allow either of her allies to lose the status of a Great Power.

(2) Russia protects France.

1875. Owing to the intervention of Russia (and Great Britain) the danger of an invasion of France¹ was obviated. Bismarck strongly resented the intervention but had to submit.

(3) The Congress of Berlin.²

The Congress of Berlin was a recognition of the supremacy of Germany in Europe and a personal tribute to Bismarck's commanding personality. But his attempt to act as "the honest broker" led to complaints from Russia that he had unduly favoured Austria in the apportionment of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Russians resented the check to Pan-Slavism which resulted from the Congress.

Bismarck objected to the acquisition of Constantinople by Russia and to the extension of Russian influence in the Danube Valley, either of which would seriously interfere with German ambitions in the Near East. Violent attacks were made on Germany in the Russian press; Gortchakoff showed marked hostility to Bismarck and, in 1879, Alexander II wrote to William I suggesting that Bismarck's policy might lead to war between Russia and Germany.

C. The Dual Alliance,³ 1879.

(1) General.

Bismarck found that the attitude of Russia prevented him from carrying out his desire to form a

¹ Page 72.

² Page 175.

³ For details, see page 73.

league of the three Empires to maintain the *status quo* in Europe ; Italy was weak ; Bismarck objected to the strong influence exercised by the British Parliament on foreign policy. He began to fear the possibility of an alliance between France and Russia which might expose Germany to an attack on two fronts. Germany was compelled to make a new alliance and Austria was the only possible ally.

(2) Reasons for the Alliance.

The acquisition of Salonika by Austria might be used to further German interests in Constantinople ; in 1879 German commercial interests demanded a good understanding with Great Britain, the greatest sea power ; Great Britain would welcome such an alliance which would check the activity of Russia ; the control of the Danube by Austria would bring Roumania, Serbia and Bulgaria within the sphere of German policy and "complete the framework of Central Europe" ; German support would strengthen the Hapsburg monarchy against Pan-Slavism, which was hostile to Germany as well as Austria, and would ensure the continuance of the *Ausgleich*.

A close alliance with Russia would involve strong opposition from Great Britain and Austria, and compel Germany to connive at Russia's aggressions in the Balkans, while Germany could exercise no such influence over Russian foreign policy as she could exert over the policy of Austria.

(3) Some difficulties.

Difficulties arose owing to the liberal policy adopted towards her Polish subjects by Austria, which offered a strong contrast to the drastic measures Bismarck adopted towards Prussian Poland ; Austria might become too powerful in the Balkans ; William I, who had renewed his personal friendship with Alexander II at Alexandrovo, strongly opposed the proposed

alliance as "perfidy" towards Russia and was compelled to accept it on October 7th, 1879, only by Bismarck's threat of resignation. The alliance was welcomed by practically all political parties in Germany and by the Germans in Austria.

(4) Criticism.

The Dual Alliance was not an attack on Russia ; it was defensive and was Germany's first line of defence in the conflict of Teuton and Slav ; its object was to maintain the peace of Europe ; it created a firm basis for the foreign relations of the German Empire ; it was one of Bismarck's greatest diplomatic successes and, in spite of the difficulties which attended its establishment, lasted until the end of the Great War, and proved a great source of strength to the Hapsburg monarchy.

October 7th, 1879. The treaty was signed by Bismarck and Andrassy.

[October, 1879. Austria agreed to the invalidation of Article V of the Peace of Prague ¹ and thus deprived the people of Northern Schleswig of the right of becoming united to Denmark if they desired.]

III. Foreign Policy from 1879 to 1890.

From 1879 to 1890 Bismarck practically controlled the foreign policy of Austria and found in the Dual Alliance a firm basis of his policy. Political conditions were changed by the growing power of France which had taken part as a Great Power in the Congress of Berlin ; by colonial development and the consequent rivalry of Great Britain ² ; by the problem of the Near East and the relations of the Balkan States to Austria, Russia and Turkey ; by the growing rivalry of Great Britain and Russia in the Middle East.

¹ Page 145.

² Page 104.

During this period Bismarck, finding that his old policy of isolating France had become difficult, endeavoured to avert the danger of another war by favouring the colonial development of France and thus diverting her attention from Germany and arousing against her the hostility of Great Britain and Italy.

While maintaining the Dual Alliance he tried to "Keep open the wire to St. Petersburg" by new treaties with Russia, and he secured the alliance of Italy.

A. The *Dreikaiserbund*.

June 18th, 1881. A treaty signed at Berlin formally established the *Dreikaiserbund* between Russia, Germany and Austria which provided that if one of the three went to war the other two should "observe benevolent neutrality and localise the war"; that Austria should secure the full benefit of the Treaty of Berlin in the Balkans; that Eastern Rumelia should be added to Bulgaria.

The *Dreikaiserbund* was inconsistent with the Austro-German Treaty of 1879 which bound Germany to help Austria if attacked by Russia and France.

B. The Triple Alliance, 1882.¹

Bismarck apparently hoped to secure the adhesion of Great Britain, the friend of Italy, and the support of the British fleet. His hopes were disappointed but "the Triple Alliance completed Central Europe; closed the Alpine passes; opened the Mediterranean to Germany . . . made it henceforward necessary (for France) to keep two of her best corps to guard against invasion from the Maritime Alps. Best of all, it shivered the serious menace of 1869 and 1871."² It completed Bismarck's system of alliances and guaranteed peace for a time. Germany was steadily strengthening her

¹ Page 73.

² Grant Robertson, *Bismarck*, page 408.

influence in Constantinople, Austria was on friendly terms with Serbia and Roumania. France was engaged in a colonial policy which involved her in difficulties with Great Britain and Italy and distracted her attention from Alsace-Lorraine. Germany was more than ever the "honest broker" of Europe.

C. The "Reinsurance" Treaty, 1884.

March, 1884. Bismarck made the first "Reinsurance" Treaty with Russia.

D. The Skierniewice Agreement, 1884.

The Emperors were concerned at the strength of Gladstonian Liberalism; differences between Russia and Great Britain with regard to the North-West Frontier of India had become acute; Bismarck had embarked on his colonial policy which seemed likely to lead to serious differences with Great Britain.

September 15th, 1884. By an agreement at Skierniewice the three Emperors confirmed the *Dreikaiserbund*.

E. The "Reinsurance" Treaty with Russia, 1887.

(1) Unrest.

Although the relations between Great Britain and Germany gradually improved the peace of Europe was threatened from other quarters.

a. France.

The fall of the Ferry ministry in April, 1885,¹ owing to colonial failure led Frenchmen again to think seriously of Alsace-Lorraine; Boulanger² advocated a policy of *revanche*; the Schnaebeli incident almost led to an open rupture.

¹ Page 61.

² Page 32.

b. Russia.

The Russians, who strongly resented their failure to secure predominance in Bulgaria, accused Bismarck of showing undue favouritism to Austria in the Balkans; Alexander III showed distinct sympathy for Pan-Slavic and anti-German movements; in the autumn of 1886 the Russian papers openly advocated a Franco-Russian Alliance.

The Dual Alliance of 1879, the Triple Alliance of 1882 and the *Dreikaiserbund* of 1881 all expired in 1887. It seemed as if the Triple Alliance might be replaced by a Franco-Russian Alliance. So grave was the crisis that Bismarck pressed for an increase of the German army by 40,000 men.

(2) The Treaty.

[February, 1887. The Triple Alliance was renewed.]

Alexander III visited Berlin; Bismarck convinced the Czar that he had been seriously misinformed as to the German policy in Bulgaria and persuaded him to make the Reinsurance Treaty with Germany.

June 18th, 1887. The treaty provided that if one of the two went to war with a third power the other would show benevolent neutrality and try to limit the area of war; that Germany would recognise the claims of Russia in the Balkans and prevent the restoration of Prince Alexander.

Thus Germany was committed to neutrality if war broke out between Austria and Russia; Russia would remain neutral if Germany was compelled to engage in a defensive war with France.

The Reinsurance Treaty did not include Austria or Italy and thus involved important differences from the terms of the Dual Alliance of 1879 which promised that Germany would help Austria if she were attacked by Russia, but Bismarck had warned Austria that her

policy in the Balkans might not always secure the assistance of Germany.

F. The Renewal of the Triple Alliance.

February 20th, 1887. The Triple Alliance was continued until 1892.

The possibility that Russia might go to war with Austria made the Italian Alliance of great importance, especially as Russia had made overtures to Italy in 1886. But by separate treaties Austria recognised that Italy had a right of compensation if Austria secured new territory in the Balkans and Germany undertook to support Italy if she took the offensive against France in Northern Africa.

Italy had thus profited greatly and her position was strengthened by the establishment of still more friendly relations with Great Britain.

G. Bismarck's Fall.

During the last two years of his Chancellorship Bismarck found great difficulty in maintaining the counterpoise between Russia and Austria which had been one of the leading features of his foreign policy since 1871. Austria wished to maintain her influence in Serbia and, in defiance of Russia, to recognise Ferdinand in Bulgaria. Bismarck, unwilling to provoke Russia, refused to recognise Ferdinand and feared that Austria, which was not in a sound condition, would expect German support if she went to war with Russia.

But the Emperor William II was inclined towards a new policy. He was already thinking of substituting German for Russian influence at Constantinople; of bringing Bulgaria into closer union with Germany. This new policy involved closer co-operation with Austria supported by Italy and, it was hoped, Great Britain; it was bound to arouse the active opposition of Russia which Bismarck had skilfully averted since 1871.

September 23rd, 1862. Appointed Minister-President of Prussia.

January 16th, 1864. Alliance of Prussia and Austria.

October 27th, 1864. Treaty of Vienna. Schleswig and Holstein ceded to Austria and Prussia.

August 14th, 1865. The Convention of Gastein.

April 8th, 1866. Alliance of Prussia and Italy.

June 14th, 1866. Prussia declared the dissolution of the Federal Diet.

July 3rd, 1866. The Austrians routed at Königgrätz.

August 23rd, 1866. Treaty of Prague.

July 1st, 1867. North German Confederation established.

April 27th, 1868. Meeting of the German Zollverein Parliament.

July 12th, 1870. Leopold von Hohenzollern withdraws his candidature to the Spanish throne.

July 14th, 1870. The "Ems telegram."

July 19th, 1870, to February 26th, 1871. Franco-German War.

September 1st, 1870. The French routed at Sedan.

October 27th, 1870. Bazaine surrendered Metz.

January 18th, 1871. William I proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles. Bismarck became Chancellor of the German Empire.

May 10th, 1871. Treaty of Frankfurt.

September, 1872. Understanding of the three Emperors at Berlin.

1872-1879. The *Kulturkampf*.

May, 1873-4-5. The May or Falk Laws.

1875. Russian and British intervention averted the danger of war between France and Germany.

June 13th, 1878. Congress of Berlin.

October 7th, 1879. Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria.

Bismarck breaks with the National Liberals and adopts Protection.

May 20th, 1882. The Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy.

March, 1884. First "Reinsurance" Treaty with Russia.

September, 1884. The Understanding of the three Emperors renewed at Skierniewice.

Germany secured Togoland, the Cameroons and the North of New Guinea.

1886-1887. The Boulanger crisis in France.

1887. The Triple Alliance renewed.

The Second "Reinsurance" Treaty with Russia.

March 9th, 1888. William I died.

June 15th, 1888. Frederick I died. William II became German Emperor.

March 18th, 1890. Bismarck resigned the Chancellorship.

July 30th, 1898. Bismarck died at Friedrichsruhe.

II. The Founder and Defender of the German Empire.

Bismarck was a whole-hearted Prussian—"Prussians we are and Prussians we will remain." In his earlier years his policy was Particularist. "He took his stand on the separate state, the Prussian state," and by a policy of well-directed but utterly ruthless aggression made Prussia by 1870 one of the greatest of the European Powers.

But the interests of Prussia would best be served by the union of Germany under the acknowledged leadership of Prussia. The North German Confederation was the preliminary of the German Empire; the German Empire was the complement of the Kingdom of Prussia and, although the feeling of common nationality united most of the subjects of the Empire, Bismarck tried to "Prussianise" it by the introduction of Prussian methods of government and military administration.

The need of securing alliances to protect the Empire against danger from France compelled Bismarck to

adopt a continental policy which gave the German Empire the supremacy in Europe and secured for Bismarck a commanding position among contemporary statesmen. He tried to preserve the peace of Europe not for the sake of Europe but of Germany. He was "a Prussian first, a German next and never a European."¹

III. A Great Diplomatist.

The success of Bismarck's foreign policy was due to his extraordinary diplomatic skill. He saw clearly the end at which he aimed and made skilful use of the opportunities that arose to secure his ends; inspired opportunism, clear perception, effective action were among the leading features of his policy which was never hampered by scruple.

He saw that "political relations between mutually independent powers are formed in an everlasting flux, either by war or by one or the other side shrinking from the renewal of war."²

His treatment of the Schleswig-Holstein question, the diplomacy that prevented Napoleon III from securing help in the Franco-German War, the skill with which he utilised in the interests of Germany the differences that arose between Great Britain and France with regard to Egypt, and between Great Britain and Russia in Afghanistan, and his success in averting war between Russia and Austria owing to difficulties in the Balkans, are conspicuous examples of his diplomatic ability.

IV. A Supporter of Absolutism.

Bismarck believed that the ideal form of government for Prussia and Germany was an absolute monarchy with himself as Mayor of the Palace.

He cared little for constitutional rights or parliamentary liberty. "His dazzling successes prevented the rise of a parliamentary spirit or tradition in Prussia;

¹ Grant and Temperley.

² Ward.

he made the *Reichstag* popular in theory and ineffective in practice.”¹

He used repressive measures ruthlessly when occasion required, particularly against Clericals and Socialists; he tried to limit the privileges of Parliament, especially freedom of arrest and freedom of debate; he used the criminal law freely against political opponents and many were prosecuted for *Bismarckbeleidigung*.

He deplored the development of party spirit in Parliament—“Party spirit has overrun us.” He refused to become a party leader but used the National Liberals, Centre and *Kartel* according to the requirements of his policy.

V. Limit to his Success.

In spite of his great achievements “a certain atmosphere of failure had gathered about him in his later days.”

A. Foreign Policy.

(1) *Weltpolitik*.

As he himself said when he saw a new German liner at Hamburg in 1895, “This is indeed a new age, a new world.” Bismarck’s Continental policy proved inadequate for new conditions which demanded World policy and a first-class navy. It is doubtful whether this new policy must be regarded as a reaction from or a necessary development of Bismarck’s policy.

(2) Peace.

As a result of his system of alliances made to preserve peace Russia was drawn into alliance with France and Europe was divided between opposing alliances; the period of armed peace which followed led necessarily to the Great War of 1914.

¹ Grant and Temperley.

B. Domestic Policy.

He felt, at the end of his life, that he had made a mistake in establishing absolute government. He said, "The *Reichstag* has abdicated its position . . . the responsibility of ministers should be increased. . . . It is a dangerous experiment nowadays to strive after absolutism in the centre of Europe."

He said that the danger of absolutism lies in the fact that kings and their ministers are not gifted with "super-human wisdom, insight and justice." He resented the influence of women at court. "The rule of Kings is the rule of women; the bad women are bad and the good are worse." He declared, "Were it all to come over again I would be Republican and Democrat."

His domestic policy was less successful than his foreign. His attempt to apply to legislation habits he had learned in diplomacy often proved unsuccessful, and the rashness of some of his legislation offered a marked contrast to the extreme caution he showed in foreign affairs. His anti-Clerical policy proved a failure; he failed to stem the rising tide of Socialism.

VI. The Apostle of Force.

His policy was marked by masterly and unscrupulous opportunism. Force was the ultimate basis of his policy—"I had the State and army behind me." He believed that "policy is the national will for power to which all methods are legitimate provided they achieve their ends at a minimum of cost." In his prime the titanic force of his personality, of which an appalling temper was the least pleasant sign, enabled him to overcome the opposition he received from Parliamentary parties, the General Staff, the civil bureaucracy, and the Emperor William I. Bismarck was inspired by "an uncontrollable desire to conquer," and a German writer has asserted that "defiant colossality" was the main feature of Bismarck's character.

VII. Personal.**A. Education.**

He was a wide reader, particularly of history, and his interests were unusually varied. He spoke French and English fluently. He was an excellent speaker and had a remarkable power in debate.

B. Unlovable.

"Of magnanimity, generosity, reticence, charity or self-respect he exhibited no trace, and he seems almost to have rejoiced in exposing to the world every unlovely frailty and defect, and to desire to prove that he could only hate and neither forgive nor forget."¹ His conduct towards the dying Emperor Frederick III was unpardonable; of Bismarck's utter lack of restraint after his fall William II justly remarked: "It is melancholy to think that such a man can sink so low."

C. Nervous.

Bismarck was highly nervous, but this weakness did not seem to impair the clearness of his vision or the coolness of his judgment.

D. Family Life.

Bismarck was devoted to his wife, "the modest, indispensable companion of his career." Between him and his eldest son Herbert there existed a strong bond of affection.

VIII. Summary.

In spite of grave faults his devoted patriotism, his dauntless courage, his clear vision of foreign affairs and his inflexible determination enabled him to render conspicuous service to Prussia and Germany and made him the idol of his fellow-countrymen. Luther, Goethe and Bismarck are the greatest men Germany has produced.

¹ Grant Robertson.

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Bismarck (Headlam-Morley), "Heroes of the Nations," especially pages 428-462.

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GERMAN COLONIAL AND FOREIGN POLICY, 1890-1914

I. General.

The adoption of *Weltpolitik* instead of the moderate measure of colonial expansion which Bismarck had gradually favoured profoundly affected the foreign relations of Germany. The Empire had gained strength and wished to use its strength to obtain a commanding position, to secure as many new markets as possible and to provide German homes across the seas for its surplus population. The new policy was energetically supported by William II, who correctly appreciated the growing needs of the nation and tried to strengthen the influence of Germany throughout the world. The teaching of Treitschke strengthened the movement by asserting that the superiority of German *Kultur* and the decadence of Great Britain marked out Germany for world power, and children were taught in schools that "*England ist der Feind.*" Nietzsche proclaimed the superiority of the German type, "the blonde beast," and the consequent duty of making Germany the mistress of the world.

The new policy was supported by the "Pan-Germans," who advocated the association of all German and kindred European nations in a union which should extend from Ostend to Reval, from Amsterdam to Trieste, and assume a commanding position on the Continent.

Professors, schoolmasters and teachers were ordered to teach the new doctrines, education became a training for war, and the people gradually, in spite of the resistance of the growing Socialist party, thought as they were ordered.

The acquisition of Kiao-Chow in 1898; the visit of the Emperor to Constantinople and Palestine in 1898; the purchase of the Caroline Islands from Spain in 1899; the acquisition from the Sultan of permission to build a railway through Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf in 1902 and the extension of a branch from Aleppo towards Mecca; the attempt of Germany to intervene in Morocco in 1905 and 1911; and the construction of a powerful fleet to maintain German interests, were some of the features of a new aggressive policy which was facilitated by the internal weakness of France, the Boer War and the political strife which weakened Great Britain, the greater attention paid by Russia to the Far East and her crushing defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905.

The aggressive policy of Germany and the "flamboyant Chauvinism" of the Emperor seriously alarmed Great Britain, Russia and France. Common danger from Germany induced these countries to compose their differences and led to the formation of the *Triple Entente* in 1907 as a means of defence against the Triple Alliance. The Great War now became only a question of time.

II. Colonial Development.

The revolt of the Arabs in Zanzibar in 1888 had shown that the development of colonies could not be left to the efforts of individual German traders as Bismarck had at first desired. In 1890 the supersession of the German East Africa Company by the Imperial Government as the supreme power in German East Africa showed that colonial expansion had become an imperial question.

A. China.

The crushing defeat of China by Japan in 1894-1895 led to the erroneous belief that the Chinese Empire was likely to break up and the European Powers hoped to secure portions of China.

(1) Kiao-Chow.

November, 1897. Murder of two German missionaries in Shantung.

1898. A German fleet, without any understanding with any other Power, seized Kiao-Chow. Prince Henry of Prussia on sailing to Kiao-Chow was ordered by the Kaiser, "Should any one attempt to affront us or to prejudice us in our valid rights then strike with your mailed fist."

March 5th, 1898. Germany secured a lease of Kiao-Chow and part of the mainland of Shantung for ninety-nine years. The construction of a railway into Shantung, the foundation of a University in the new German town of Tsingtau, were followed by a remarkable development of German trade and influence.

March 27th, 1898. Russia secured a lease of Port Arthur for twenty-five years.

July 1st, 1898. Great Britain secured a lease of Wei-hai-Wei.

(2) The Boxer Rising.

January, 1900. National resentment at foreign intervention led to the Boxer Rising which was supported by the Dowager Empress. A British missionary was murdered at Shantung; the German railway was broken; the foreign embassies were besieged at Peking.

June 16th, 1900. The capture of the Taku Forts by Admiral Seymour was regarded by the Chinese as a declaration of war.

June 20th, 1900. Murder of Ketteler the German Minister at Peking.

August, 1900. Arrival at Peking of a joint European force under Count von Waldersee who completed the subjugation of Peking. The Kaiser ordered Waldersee to act towards the Chinese "like Huns."

September 7th, 1901. The Chinese Government agreed to pay a heavy indemnity, to dismantle the Taku Forts, to allow legation guards to be established.

(3) The Yang-tse Convention.

October 16th, 1900. Great Britain and Germany agreed to maintain freedom in trade and to uphold the territorial integrity of China.

(4) The Anglo-Japanese Treaty, 1902.

January 30th, 1902. Great Britain and Japan made an alliance to maintain the *status quo* in the Far East. This treaty, followed by the defeat of Russia by Japan, was a further guarantee of the integrity of China and averted any danger of European intervention on behalf of the Boers against Great Britain.

(5) Germany and Russia.

Germany, who had probably connived at the Russian forward policy in Manchuria, did not help Russia against Japan.

B. Africa.

South-West Africa.

1904. Revolt of the Hereros who resented the interference of the Germans with their pastures.

1907. The revolt was suppressed by a German army of 14,000 men under Deimling who practically exterminated the Hereros.

C. The Kaiser and Islam.

"The attempt to dominate the East forms the keystone of German *Weltpolitik*." ¹

The Kaiser wished to extend the influence of Germany in the Far East, and this necessitated friendly relations with Mahommedans in general, among whom the Pan-Islam movement was making progress, and with Turkey, which commanded the overland route to Persia.

1898. The Kaiser paid a friendly visit to the Sultan Abdul Hamid, the author of the Armenian massacres, and at Damascus assured the Mahommedans that "the German Emperor will be their friend at all times." The Turks returned the compliment by calling him Kaiser Hadji Mahommed Gulliamo and tracing his descent from Mahommed.

1902. The Sultan gave concessions for the construction of the Bagdad Railway which was intended to form part of a connected railway system stretching from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf. "German diplomacy in the Near East has been largely railway diplomacy."

- (1) The refusal of the Emir of Koweit, a firm ally of Great Britain, to grant a terminus in his country prevented the railway from reaching the Persian Gulf.
- (2) **1905.** Construction of a branch through Palestine towards Mecca, nominally for the convenience of pilgrims, really to facilitate a future offensive against the Suez Canal.
- (3) **1911.** The right to construct a branch line to Alexandria, with special privileges for German traders in that part, threatened seriously to impair the influence of France and England in Syria and Mesopotamia.

June 15th, **1914.** During a short period of more friendly relations Britain agreed to permit the extension

¹ Prothero.

of the railway to Basra on condition that she controlled the traffic of the Euphrates and obtained a large interest in companies formed to develop the country.

D. The *Reichstag* and the Colonies.

There was strong opposition in the *Reichstag* to colonial extension, especially from the Socialists and Centre.

September, 1906. Appointment of Dernburg as director of the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office.

November, 1907. The *Reichstag* refused to grant the funds and forces which Dernburg found necessary for the expedition against the Hereros and was dissolved.

1907. In a new *Reichstag* the *Bloc*, a combination of Liberals and Conservatives, voted the necessary supplies and vindicated the Emperor's authority to determine the strength of the military force in any part of the imperial dominions.

E. General.

By 1907 the German Colonial Empire had vastly increased. German South-West Africa was more extensive than the German Empire; German East Africa was twice as large; the Cameroons were nearly as large. Kiao-Chow had become a great German centre and Germany had secured an important place in the Pacific. The native population of all the German colonies was about twelve million; by 1910 the annual volume of German colonial trade, excluding the valuable trade with China, amounted to about £10,500,000; largely owing to the development of colonial trade the German mercantile marine, in 1910, was about three times as great as it had been in 1871.

III. The Navy.

Weltpolitik implied the need of protecting German trade and colonies and necessitated the development of the German Navy. The Kaiser said "Our future lies on the sea," and declared "I will never rest until I have raised my Navy to a position similar to that occupied by my Army. German colonial aims can be gained only when Germany has become master on the ocean."

1895. The completion of the Kiel Canal provided a German waterway between the Baltic and the North Sea.

1898. Foundation of the *Flottverein*,¹ which strenuously demanded a strong navy.

March, **1898.** The *Reichstag*, in spite of strong Socialist opposition, passed the first Navy Act.

February, **1900.** Tirpitz, the new Secretary for the Navy, induced the *Reichstag* to pass a Navy Act which would automatically double the navy by **1920**. Bebel, the Socialist leader, strongly opposed the Act because it would cause serious friction with Great Britain, but Bülow, Chancellor from **1901** to **1909**, did all he could to make the German fleet as strong as the British.

1905. The first Dreadnought was commenced.

1906. By a new Navy Bill the German Government strengthened the navy by the construction of six large cruisers and ordered that the Kiel Canal should be made large enough for the passage of Dreadnoughts.

1907. Germany refused to agree to proposals for the reduction of armaments made at the Hague Conference.

Great Britain tried to weaken the relative strength of the German navy by increasing the dimensions of her battleships. Germany adopted a similar policy and also began to make important experiments in the use of submarines.

1908-1909. Germany built four Dreadnoughts, Great Britain two.

¹ Navy League.

1912. Tirpitz, irritated by the check Germany had received at Agadir,¹ introduced a new Navy Law which would give Germany forty-one battleships and twenty cruisers by 1920.

IV. Germany and Great Britain.

Great Britain was not a member of the Triple Alliance. If a European war broke out her attitude would probably decide the issue.

A. Friendly Relations.

(1) General.

After 1886 more friendly relations were established between Great Britain and Germany. Great Britain co-operated in crushing the revolt of the Arabs of Zanzibar in 1888-89; in 1889 Bismarck made unsuccessful overtures of friendship. Largely owing to the efforts of Lord Salisbury and Count Caprivi treaties which seemed to establish a "Germano-British honeymoon" were made between the two countries in July and October, 1890.

(2) Heligoland and Zanzibar.

July 1st, 1890. By a treaty Great Britain ceded Heligoland to Germany; Germany abandoned all claims to Uganda and the Upper Nile and recognised a British protectorate over Zanzibar.

This treaty settled differences with regard to colonial policy which, particularly in 1885-86, had seriously embittered the relations between Great Britain and Germany. It was strongly criticised by Bismarck who resented the reversal of his policy and had hoped, by taking further advantage of the differences of Great Britain with France and Russia, to secure Zanzibar for Germany. Heligoland was valuable to Germany as it commanded the entrance to the Kiel Canal and could be used as a coaling station; it

was of little value to Great Britain. Dr. Rose regards the adverse comment the treaty received from both countries as a proof of its fairness.

"Caprivi's tenure of office shows the high-water mark in the amicable relations between the two Powers."¹

B. Growing Hostility.

(1) China.

Great Britain had refused in 1895 to join Germany, Russia and France in depriving Japan of some of the spoils of her victory over China, but had co-operated with Germany against the Boxers.

October 16th, 1900. Great Britain and Germany agreed to maintain the integrity of the Chinese Empire which was seriously threatened by Russian aggression in the North. The assertion of Bülow, on March 15th, 1901, that the treaty applied only to the Yang-tse-Kiang valley and not to Manchuria, was strongly resented in Great Britain.

(2) Japan.

January 30th, 1902. An alliance between Great Britain and Japan provided that if one should be at war with a single Power the other should remain neutral, but that if one were at war with two Powers the other should come to her aid.

This alliance ended the British policy of "splendid isolation"; it restored the prestige which Great Britain had lost in the Boer War; it checked the Russian advance in the Far East; it tended to widen the breach between Great Britain and Germany who had not been invited to join the treaty, thought that it limited her designs on China, and regarded it as a breach of loyalty towards European nations.

¹ Dr. Ward.

December, 1904. The Dogger Bank incident had caused a grave crisis between Russia and Great Britain in October, and Germany promised to help Russia if she found herself at war with Great Britain.

(3) The Boer War, 1899-1902.

The German Government's attitude during the Boer War was correct; it refused suggestions of intervention on behalf of the Boers which were made by Russia in February, 1900, and October, 1901; its offer of friendly mediation was rejected by Great Britain, which was greatly strengthened by her alliance with Japan concluded on January 30th, 1902.

But the war intensified the bad feeling between Great Britain and Germany. The telegram the Kaiser sent on January 3rd, 1896, to congratulate Krüger on crushing the Jameson Raid aroused a storm of indignation in England; the Germans generally sympathised with the Boers; German newspapers violently attacked the British policy and British journals retorted vigorously. Many Germans served as volunteers in the Boer armies; some German vessels suspected of carrying supplies to the Boers were seized and detained in Durban in 1900.

(4) The Kaiser and Islam.¹

The action of Great Britain in attempting to protect the Armenians in 1896, and in helping to secure autonomy for Crete in 1898,² led to ill-feeling between Germany and Great Britain and strengthened the influence of the former at Constantinople.

The attempt of the Kaiser, 1898-1911, to strengthen German influence over Mahommedans was viewed with suspicion by Great Britain, many of whose subjects were Mahommedans. If the Kaiser's scheme for the construction of a Berlin-Bagdad-Basra Rail

¹ Page 129.

² Page 195.

way had materialised it would have turned the flank of the British Empire.

(5) *The Dual and Triple Ententes.*

The importance of securing the friendship if not the adhesion of Great Britain to the Triple Alliance, the feeling of British statesmen that splendid isolation was no longer desirable for Great Britain, tended to promote better relations. Chamberlain, in 1898, 1899 and 1901, tried to make an alliance between Great Britain and Germany but was unsuccessful. But the attendance of William II at the funeral of his grandmother, Queen Victoria, in January, 1901; the co-operation of Great Britain, Germany and Italy in a blockade of the ports of Venezuela in August, 1902, showed that differences did not preclude co-operation between the governments. But by this time it was clear that if Great Britain was to escape from isolation, which was now regarded as dangerous rather than splendid, it would be by alliance with some other European power than Germany.

The *Entente Cordiale*¹ of 1904, although a defensive alliance, followed the *Dual Entente* made between France and Russia in 1893.² The treaty was published in 1895; the discovery of the secret clauses for the partition of Morocco and the growing fear that Germany was being "encircled by rival powers" led her to regard the *Dual Entente* as a danger. The Kaiser's action in the Moroccan crises of 1905³ and 1911⁴ was partly due to the desire to weaken the *Dual Entente* which, in 1907, became the *Triple Entente* by the addition of Great Britain. The Kaiser's masterful interference caused great resentment in England, his failure, in 1911, was regarded as due mainly to the support given by Great Britain to France and led to a violent anti-British outburst in Berlin.

¹ Page 76.

² Page 68.

³ Page 75.

⁴ Page 69.

(6) The Navy.¹

The development of the German Navy was a distinct challenge to the supremacy on the seas which Great Britain had hitherto held.

C. General.

(1) Attempts to improve relations.

Efforts were made to mitigate the evil by the foundation of the Anglo-German Friendship Society in 1905; the Campbell-Bannerman Ministry (1905-1908) tried to ensure peace by bringing about a general reduction in armaments. The German Socialists attempted to establish better relations with Great Britain. But these efforts proved unsuccessful.

From 1912 to 1914 the relations between the two governments were more friendly. Their co-operation localised the struggle in the Balkans; in 1913 they re-arranged amicably their respective spheres of influence in Portuguese colonies; in June, 1914, Great Britain agreed to the extension of the Bagdad Railway to Basra.

(2) Fundamental differences.

The development of German *Weltpolitik* led to growing differences between Germany and Great Britain. The power of Germany became a real danger.

The people of the two countries became estranged and the estrangement was fostered by the violence of the British and German press. The threat to British commerce and manufactures, the dumping in England of goods "made in Germany," aroused the resentment of merchants and manufacturers. The ill-considered public speeches of the Kaiser and his unfriendly relations with his uncle, Edward VII, aggravated the

mischief. British public opinion became increasingly hostile to Germany and difficulties that arose, and particularly those regarding Venezuela and Morocco, led to strong expressions of this hostility. The British people came to regard Germany as "the enemy."

V. Germany and France, pp. 71-81.

VI. Germany and Russia.

A. Weakening of Relations.

(1) Bismarck, Austria and Russia.

Bismarck had always tried to "Keep open the wire to St. Petersburg." But the differences between Austria and Russia with regard to Bulgaria became so acute in February, 1888, that Bismarck, to avert war, published the Austro-German Treaty of 1879 and asserted that if war broke out between Russia and Austria Germany was bound to assist Austria to maintain her position as a Great Power.

(2) The "Reinsurance" Treaty.

1890. The "Reinsurance" Treaty of 1887¹ was not renewed by Caprivi.

(3) The Poles.

Caprivi gave great offence to Russia by adopting a friendly attitude towards Poland.

(4) Great Britain.

The desire of William II at the opening of his reign to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain was resented by Russia whose policy in the Middle and Far East had led to serious differences with Great Britain.

¹ Page 114.

(5) *The Dual Entente, 1893.*¹

The attitude of Germany led Russia to form the *Dual Entente* with France.

(6) *The Triple Entente, 1907.*²

By the *Triple Entente* France, Russia and Great Britain were united for defensive purposes against the Triple Alliance. Thus the hostility between Great Britain and Russia, which had been one of the grounds for the security of Germany, was ended. Germany now became only the leader of the weaker of the two great European groups.

The two groups adopted different policies in regard to Morocco³ in 1905 and 1911 and the Balkans in 1909. The Balkan problem seemed likely to lead to war between Russia and Austria, and Germany again supported Austria.

February, 1909. ✓ William II declared that if war broke out Germany would fight for Austria "as a knight in shining armour."

March 23rd, 1909. Germany issued practically an ultimatum and compelled Russia to agree to the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The *Triple Entente* had suffered a severe diplomatic rebuff, but as a result Russia broke with Austria and became increasingly hostile to Germany.

May, 1914. A proposed visit of Prince Louis of Battenberg to St. Petersburg to form a naval convention with Russia roused great indignation in Berlin.

B. The Far East.

In spite of the Dual Alliance Germany showed a friendly spirit towards Russian policy in the Far East.

¹ Published 1895. Page 75.

² Page 78.

³ Pages 68-71.

May, 1895. Germany, France and Russia united to compel Japan to restore to China the Liao-Tong Peninsula which she had gained by the Peace of Simonoseki in March, 1895.

1901. Germany did not support Great Britain, the United States and Japan in their unsuccessful attempt to induce Russia to evacuate Manchuria.

1904-1905. Germany maintained a friendly neutrality towards Russia during the Russo-Japanese War and, in December, 1904, promised her support if she was involved in war with Great Britain.

July, 1905. The Kaiser had tried, in the "Willy-Nicky" correspondence, to stir up discord between Russia and Great Britain, the ally of France. He assured Nicholas II that "the naval battles fought by Togo are fought with Cardiff coal." On July 24th, 1905, the Kaiser persuaded the impressionable Czar to sign the Treaty of Björko by which Russia and Germany promised to help each other if necessary against any European state and to conclude such a war by a joint and not a separate peace. But Count Witte and the Russian Ambassador at Paris protested against the treaty as incompatible with the Dual Alliance and the Czar was compelled to repudiate the treaty in consequence.

VII. Germany and Austria.

The Dual Alliance of 1879 remained the keynote of German policy. But Germany abandoned Bismarck's policy of consulting the interests of Russia in any settlement of the Turkish Empire and of playing only a secondary part in Balkan affairs. Germany now definitely aimed at promoting Austrian interests as against Russia in the hope that, with the growing influence of Austria in the Balkans, she might the more easily secure predominance in Constantinople and the Middle East.

VIII. General.

Germany had shown that "a policy which relied upon menace and ever-increasing armaments aroused increasing distrust and led menaced states to form defensive alliances."¹ The result was "to enclose the policy of the Great Powers in a vicious circle from which the only escape was a general reduction of armaments or war."²

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THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF GERMANY, 1890-1913

During this period no attempt was made to weaken the Constitution and the decay of Particularism in the states strengthened the Empire. The supreme authority of the Emperor remained unchecked and William II was determined to exercise it.

Party differences continued but the formation of the *Bloc* by Bülow, in 1907, gave the Government a compact majority of Conservatives and Liberals which enabled it to outvote the Centre and Socialists.

I. The Army.

A considerable army was necessary to hold the frontiers and enable Germany to act as the arbiter of Europe.

New laws were passed which established the army for a "quinquennate"—five years and a half.

May, 1893. The peace strength of the army was fixed at 485,000 men, and this would supply for war an army of 1,630,000 men in addition to the reserves of 600,000.

¹ Dr. Rose.

² *Ibid.*

1902. The peace strength was fixed at 495,500, service was to last two years and provision was made for the addition of 10,000 more men by **1910**.

After **1907** all parties, except the Socialists, supported the demands of the Government for the increase of the army and navy.

1913. A levy of £50,000,000 was made partly to strengthen the army.

II. Economic Questions.

A. Corn.

In order to secure a basis for the commercial treaties he negotiated with Austria, Roumania, Russia and Italy, Caprivi, the Chancellor from March, **1890** to **1894**, lowered import duties on corn.

The consequent fall of the price of corn roused the bitter opposition of the Conservative Agrarians who founded the League of Agriculturalists to oppose the new policy.

1902. Bülow, the Chancellor from **1901** to **1909**, imposed a new tariff on the expiration of the commercial treaties, and the opposition of the Conservatives ceased.

B. Railways.

Prussia secured control of the railways of Hesse-Darmstadt in **1896** and of the Main-Neckar line in **1902**.

III. Education.

A struggle took place in Prussia between Conservatives and Liberals on the question of education.

A. Zedlitz.

Zedlitz endeavoured to establish the joint control of Church and State over public schools in Prussia and was supported by Caprivi who was anxious to conciliate the Conservatives whom his commercial policy had

displeased. But the strong opposition of the Liberals led to the rejection of the attempt and Zedlitz resigned.

B. The School Compromise.

1906. The School Compromise protected denominational interests in schools attended by a specified number of Catholic or Lutheran children; established lay boards of control and facilitated the introduction of such new regulations as might be found necessary.

IV. Socialism.

A. Growth of Socialism.

Emigration, which accounted for the departure from Germany of about two and a quarter million workmen between **1870** and **1900**, had greatly diminished; only 20,000 emigrants left Germany in **1906.** The development of industry provided more opportunities for employment. The increasing number of working men was followed by a marked development of Socialism.

German Socialism was international; German Socialists demanded the withdrawal of German troops from France in **1870** in the name of the Universal Republic. In **1912** they asserted "the international solidarity of the proletariat," renewed their protests against war and demanded general disarmament. But some tendency was shown at the beginning of this century towards a national rather than an international policy; the connection with French and Russian Socialists was weakened; many Socialists voted for the supplies required for the Great War.

B. Parliamentary Representation.

The German Socialist party grew rapidly and, in **1903**, returned eighty-one members to the *Reichstag*. But a split between the followers of Marx and the Revisionists, who objected to revolutionary methods, temporarily weakened their party which secured only forty-three

seats in 1907. But in 1912 the Socialists polled 4,250,000 votes and secured 110 seats.

C. General League.

1907. Formation of a General League of Trade Unions.

D. State Action.

William II was anxious to improve the conditions of the working class; Caprivi wished to strengthen the authority of the State but the attempt of Hohenlohe, Chancellor from 1894 to 1901, to effect this failed, and no further attempt was made to check Socialism by statute. The policy of remedial legislation was continued.

(1) The Law for the Protection of Workers,¹ 1891.

Following a conference held in Berlin in March, 1890, at the Kaiser's suggestion, the *Reichstag* passed the Law for the Protection of Workers which restricted working hours, ensured a rest on Sunday and protected the workers from danger to life and limb.

(2) Insurance.

1900. Further provision was made for insurance against sickness, accidents and old age.

V. Germany and her non-German Subjects.

A. Poland.

(1) "Germanisation."

a. Bismarck.

Bismarck, anxious to avoid giving any cause of offence to Russia, had refused to redress the grievances of the Germans in Poland and had repressed the Poles. The opposition the Polish members had shown to his policy during the *Kulturkampf* was one reason for his attempt to "Germanise" Poland.

¹ *Arbeiterschutzgesetz.*

1886. The Law of Settlement.¹

The Government was authorised to spend in ten years one hundred million marks to buy land in Posen and West Prussia on which German peasants were to be settled. By **1911** 150,000 German peasants had settled in Poland and 450 German villages had been established.

b. Bülow.

Caprivi had adopted conciliatory measures but Bülow continued Bismarck's policy.

1908. The Expropriation Bill provided for the further substitution of Germans for Poles.

c. Education.

In the towns an attempt was made to use the schools as a means of spreading German *Kultur* and of extending the use of the German language. A German college was founded at Posen.

(2) General.

The struggle between the Polish and German nations was very bitter and the policy of leniency adopted by Austria towards her Polish subjects stiffened the resistance to all attempts at "Germanisation." The Roman Catholic clergy led the resistance and strongly supported the demand for the independence of Poland.

Many Poles migrated into Russia and their influence was exerted on behalf of their fellow-countrymen.

By **1890** the Poles had twenty members in the *Reichstag* and tended to support the Centre, the Roman Catholic party.

1913. A combination of the Centre, Socialists and Poles passed the first vote of censure on the Government which had ever been recorded in the *Reichstag*

¹ *Ansiedelungsgesetz.*

and declared that the policy of Settlement and Expropriation was contrary to the judgment of the *Reichstag*.

1913. The very cold reception accorded to the Kaiser on his visit to Posen showed that Germany had failed to break the national spirit of Poland.

B. Schleswig-Holstein.

(1) The Fifth Clause of the Treaty of Prague.

By the Treaty of Prague, **1866**,¹ the Danish Duchies had been given to Prussia. But the Fifth Clause of the treaty provided that Northern Schleswig should be given to Denmark if the people voted for it.

But no vote was ever taken and on the conclusion of the Dual Alliance, in **1879**, Austria left Prussia a free hand in the matter and Denmark formally recognised the abolition of the Fifth Clause.

(2) Harsh treatment.

Northern Schleswig was harshly treated by Germany. In **1888** the use of Danish was prohibited in schools except in two catechism lessons each week; German Governors ruled with great severity; a Pan-German party tried to extend German influence.

Caprivi, Bülow (a Holsteiner) and the Kaiser tried to reconcile the German and Danish elements. But all efforts proved unsuccessful and the demand for separation from Germany and union with Denmark grew stronger.

C. Alsace-Lorraine.

After the Franco-German War Alsace-Lorraine had been made imperial territory² and not added to Prussia or any other German state.

In **1875** a *Landesausschuss*, or representative committee, was appointed to act as a provisional diet.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 389.

² Reichsland.

(1) Resistance to German rule.

The national resistance of the people to German rule, the fear that France would find in Alsace-Lorraine ample support for the "*revanche*" she desired, and the attempt to Germanise the new territory led to rigorous government.

In April, 1871, German was declared to be the only language used in schools; the people complained of the persecution of those who sympathised with France, of domiciliary visits and harsh passport regulations. The Catholic priests led the resistance.

(2) Hohenlohe.

Hohenlohe proved a sympathetic Governor from 1885 to 1894, and materially assisted trade by the construction of the Ludwigshafen canal. Although under Hohenlohe's rule industry and commerce flourished he failed to conciliate the inhabitants. Even under his mild sway seventy-four purely French communes were ordered, in 1892, to conduct their official correspondence in German. The people showed little disposition to welcome the Emperor when he visited them in 1889 and 1893.

(3) Demand for Separation.

1911. An attempt was made to win over the people by making Alsace-Lorraine a Federal State with three votes in the *Bundesrat* and a Diet of two Chambers. But oppressive government continued in spite of the protests of the Diet and great indignation was caused by the high-handed treatment of the civil population by military officers in 1913.

The demand for separation from Germany and reunion with France continued in spite of all that Germany could do to stifle it.

Reference :

Germany (Ward), Cambridge University Press, Vol. III, chap. VII, section 1.

SECTION III

THE EASTERN QUESTION

THE BALKAN INSURRECTIONS, 1875-1877

I. The Turkish Empire.

A. The Integrity of the Turkish Empire.

April 15th, 1856. Great Britain, France and Austria guaranteed "jointly and severally the independence and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire."¹ But the hold of Turkey over the Balkan States had been weakened and, by 1871, Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro² had gained a considerable measure of independence, while hereditary vice-royalties had been established in Egypt and Tunis.

B. Reform unfulfilled.

(1) Difficulty of Reform.

The conditions of Turkey made reform difficult, for reform necessitated, to some extent, the secularisation of the Empire which was a theocracy based upon the rigid creed of Islam. Only a very strong and enlightened ruler could have ensured reform, but Abdul Mejid (1839-1861) was a drunkard and Abdul Aziz (1861-1876) a spendthrift whose extravagance increased the confusion of the national

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 288.

² For details, see *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, pages 488-489.

finances and led to increased demands for money from his subjects. Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909), "the Damned," checked reform by wholesale massacre and, like most Sultans of the nineteenth century, skilfully used the dissensions between Great Britain and Russia and Austria and Russia to avert the reforms the Powers wished to enforce.

(2) Broken promises.

The promises of reform contained in the *hatti-humayun* of February, 1856,¹ had never been carried out by the Sultans in spite of strong protests made by the guaranteeing Powers. Although the semi-independent principalities had introduced many reforms, in Bosnia and Herzegovina the few Turkish officials and the many Mahomedan Slavs cruelly oppressed the Christian Slavs who received no share in the administration, could not secure justice in the law-courts, and were plundered by police and by tax-farmers who extorted from the peasants about two-thirds of their crops. The misery of the Christians in these states was aggravated by comparison with the far happier lot of the Christians in the neighbouring principalities of Serbia and Montenegro.

(3) The Young Turks.

The party of the Young Turks aimed at constitutional reform. They were led by Midhat Pasha who proved an excellent governor of Bulgaria. They deposed Abdul Aziz in May, 1876, and Murad V in August, 1876, but failed to secure constitutional reform until 1908, and discarded their liberal principles as soon as they secured power.

¹ For details, see *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 486.

II. The Balkan States.¹

The Eastern Question was "the problem of finding a *modus vivendi* between the Turks and their Christian subjects and the neighbouring States." The Sultan did his best to perpetuate and increase divisions between his Christian subjects in order to maintain his authority and the supremacy of Islam.

The people of Turkey were divided by race and religion.

A. Racial Divisions.

Although the people of the Balkans were Slavs racial and social divisions rendered union difficult. The influence of the Roman settlers on the Lower Danube had Latinised the language and sentiments of the Roumanians; the Bulgarians were of Tartar origin; the Serbians were pure Slavs and aimed at re-establishing the great Serbian kingdom of Stephen Dushan (1336 to 1355) who had strongly resisted the Turks and conquered Bulgaria; the Albanians were lawless mountaineers descended from the old Illyrians; the Montenegrins were a fighting race of pure Slavs who had always offered strong resistance to Turkish rule; the Greeks, the descendants of the old Hellenes, hoped some day to restore the ancient Byzantine Empire and secure Thessaly, the coast of Macedonia and part of Eastern Roumelia.

B. Religious Divisions.

(1) The religion of the Balkan States.

The Albanians were fanatical Mahommedans, the nobles in Bosnia and Bulgaria were Mahommedans, but many of the Bosnian peasants were Roman Catholics; most of the inhabitants of the Balkan States were Greek Christians owing obedience to the Greek Patriarch in Constantinople, and in Serbia "the Orthodox Church has been throughout the ages the nursing mother of national independence."

¹ For details, see *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, pp. 495-502.

(2) The Bulgarian Exarchate.

March 10th, 1870. Abdul Aziz established a Bulgarian Exarchate under an Exarch who was to be the spiritual head of all Bulgarian Christians wherever resident.

The Bulgarians, who strongly resented the social and ecclesiastical influence the Greeks had acquired in Bulgaria, enthusiastically approved of the new arrangement which strengthened the development of Slav feeling and was therefore approved by the Czar.

But the Exarchate really aggravated the divisions already existing. The Greeks resented the diminution of the authority of the Patriarch and quarrels arose between Greek Patriarchists and Bulgarian Exarchists, particularly in Macedonia where the mixed population included Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbians. It increased the enmity between Bulgarians and Serbians who "hated a Bulgarian Exarch almost as much as they hated a Greek Patriarch."

C. Pan-Slavism.

(1) Russia and Pan-Slavism.

The Eastern Question was complicated by the spread of Pan-Slavism which had originated in Austria. The first Pan-Slav conference met at Prague in 1848, but afterwards Russia, as the greatest independent Slav nation, took the lead and Alexander II (1855-1881) realised that by supporting the growth of Pan-Slavism in the Balkans he might regain the influence Russia had lost in the Crimean War.

Russia crushed the Polish Slavs but supported the Balkan States against Turkey—Montenegro in 1862, Roumania, "a Latin island in the Slav ocean," in 1861, Serbia in 1867. The Czar addressed a Pan-Slav Congress, in which Poland alone was unrepresented, which met at Moscow in 1867, as "brother Slavs." The Czar, who had claimed the right of interfering in

the Balkans as the protector of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, now tried to use the Pan-Slav movement as an excuse for such interference.

(2) Pan-Slav propaganda.

A central Pan-Slav Committee was established at Moscow, a sub-committee at Bucharest; secret societies were formed to promote the cause in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Bulgaria; Pan-Slav literature was circulated in the Balkans and young Slavs went to universities in Russia.

Russia was largely responsible for the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, and the denunciation by Russia, in 1870, of the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris¹ was regarded as a Slav triumph and encouraged the Balkan States to resist Turkey.

(3) Opposing forces.

The Pan-Slav movement was weakened by the development of the feeling of nationality in individual states, by national jealousy, religious differences and the Pan-Serb movement which aimed at making Serbia the leading Balkan power.

D. The Powers and the Balkans.

(1) Russia.

Russia desired to strengthen her authority in the Balkans, expel the Turks from Europe and secure Constantinople.

(2) Austria.

Austria was willing to leave the Turks in Europe but had adopted a policy of *Drang nach Osten* and hoped to secure Bosnia and Herzegovina and to get Salonika; she opposed the Pan-Slav movement which

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 286.

aimed at replacing Dualism by Trialism in her empire. She feared the extension of Russian power on the Lower Danube. The rivalry of Austria and Russia formed an important factor in the Eastern Question.

(3) Great Britain and France.

Great Britain and France had tried to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire and the former feared that if Russia secured Constantinople she would threaten the route to India through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal. The influence of France at Constantinople was weakened by her defeat by Germany in 1870.

(4) Germany.

Bismarck did not adopt an aggressive policy in the Balkans and, in 1885, declared that the Eastern Question was not "worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier"; he tried to play the part of the "honest broker" between Russia and Austria both of whom were in alliance with Germany.

But the adoption of *Weltpolitik* led Germany to try to strengthen her influence in the Balkans and to cultivate friendly relations with the Turks.¹

III. The Balkan Insurrections.

A. Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(1) The Outbreak.

July, 1875. The exactions of the tax-farmers following a bad harvest in 1874 led to a rising of the peasants of Herzegovina who refused to pay taxes and defeated a Turkish force on July 24th.

The Bosnians also rose, and the movement, which began as an attack on tax-farmers and Mahommedan landlords, became an insurrection against Turkish rule.

¹ Page 129.

(2) Demands of the rebels.

September, 1875. The rebels informed the European consuls in Bosnia that they demanded religious liberty, the right of Christians to give evidence in law-courts, the establishment of a local Christian militia and the reform of the system of taxation. They suggested that they should be allowed to emigrate to some Christian country, or that Bosnia and Herzegovina should receive autonomy under a foreign Christian prince while acknowledging the suzerainty of the Sultan, or that the Powers should occupy the country until a permanent settlement was made.

The Sultan promised reform but the rebels distrusted his promises and refused to disarm.

(3) The Andrassy Note, 1875.

a. Terms.

The Powers were anxious to limit the area of insurrection and to establish peace.

December 30th, 1875. Andrassy, the Austrian Chancellor, drew up the Andrassy Note which demanded that the Sultan should recognise the equality before the law of Christians and Mahommedans, abolish tax-farming, use direct taxes for local purposes, favour the establishment of peasant proprietors and institute a local assembly of Christians and Mahommedans in equal numbers to control the administration and secure the execution of all reforms promised by the Sultan up to date.

b. Disraeli.

The Andrassy Note was supported by Austria, Germany and Russia. Its presentation was delayed owing to the objections of Great Britain which had not been consulted when it was drawn up. The British Prime

Minister Disraeli was biassed in favour of Turkey, partly because Jews had always been better treated in Turkey than Russia ; partly because he saw that Russia was likely to oppose his new imperial policy which had led him in November, 1875, to buy the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal in order to control the route to India ; partly because the maintenance of the integrity of Turkey was the traditional policy of Great Britain. He failed to see that if the Balkan States were independent the feeling of chronic revolt against Turkey, which was one of the disturbing factors in the Balkans, would disappear. And he did not understand that " an Asiatic Power which massacred its Christian subjects, which never intended to sanction reform or progress and defaulted on its debts, was an increasing danger to Europe." ¹ Derby, the Foreign Minister, objected to warlike intervention.

January, 1876. Disraeli and Derby accepted the Andrassy Note with reluctance.

a. The Sultan accepts the Note.

February 11th, 1876. The Sultan accepted the Note with the exception of the clause that taxes should be used for local purposes.

But the rebels, encouraged by Serbia and Montenegro, refused to lay down their arms and now demanded that one-third of the land should be assigned to Christians.

(4) The Berlin Memorandum, 1876.

a. Danger of the extension of the revolt.

The growing unrest in all the Balkan States, the determination of Turkey to crush the rebels

¹ Grant and Temperley.

and of Russia to prevent her from so doing, and, above all, the assassination of the French and German consuls at Salonika in May, 1876, made further efforts by the Powers imperative if peace was to be preserved.

b. The Memorandum.

May 13th, 1876. Germany, Austria and Russia by the Berlin Memorandum demanded that an armistice should be made for two months, that a mixed Commission should be appointed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that the European consuls should see that the necessary reforms were carried out. The Memorandum threatened that if reforms were not carried out in two months the three Powers would "take efficacious measures" to enforce them.

a. Disraeli.

The French and Italian Governments accepted the Memorandum.

May 19th, 1876. Disraeli, who was greatly annoyed because Great Britain had not been consulted when the Memorandum was drawn up, refused to accept it on the ground that treaties with Turkey precluded armed intervention.

May 24th, 1876. Disraeli sent the British fleet to Besika Bay as a counter move to the presence of German and French squadrons in Turkish waters.

Disraeli's action weakened the Concert of Europe which alone could peaceably settle the Eastern Question, aggravated the enmity between Great Britain and Russia, led the Turks to expect British support and so strengthened the Sultan in his refusal to put the necessary reforms into effect.

B. The Bulgarian Horrors.

(1) General Conditions.

The Bulgarian Christians were not treated badly by the Turks. They were allowed the free exercise of Greek rites, some towns enjoyed municipal privileges and the province enjoyed some measure of autonomy. Economically the peasants were far better off than those of Russia and enjoyed a considerable measure of prosperity under the enlightened governorship of Midhat Pasha.

But a feeling of nationality was beginning to make itself felt and had been stimulated by the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate; Pan-Slavism affected Bulgaria; the peasants had been strongly influenced by the rising in Herzegovina and the Roumanian revolutionary committee had extended its influence into Bulgaria.

May, 1876. Rising of the Bulgarians who murdered 136 Turkish officials and other Mahommedans at Tatar Bazardjik.

(2) The Horrors.

The Turks, alarmed at the outbreak of insurrection in the heart of the Empire, sent an army of 18,000 regular soldiers and a host of irregular Bashi-Bazouks who, in May, treated with utter brutality the peasants, most of whom were unarmed. Twelve thousand were slain; at Batak 5000 out of 7000 were murdered; of eighty villages in the upper Maritza valley only fifteen survived.

(3) Feeling in Great Britain.

Disraeli asserted that the earliest reports that appeared in the London newspapers were "coffee-house babble" due to attempts to cover the aggressions of Russia. Gladstone roused popular feeling by publishing, on September 6th, 1876, his widely-

circulated pamphlet on the "Bulgarian Horrors," in which he urged that the Turks should be expelled "bag and baggage . . . from the province they have desolated and profaned"¹; the report of Baring, who had been sent by the British Government to Adrianople to investigate, showed that the London newspapers had been correct. Great Britain was horrified at the thought that the British Government was indirectly responsible owing to the "moral support" the British ships in Besika Bay had given the Sultan and to the advice of the British ambassador that the Turks should put down by force the rising in Herzegovina. A strong feeling arose against Disraeli's Turcophil policy.

C. The Rising in Constantinople.

May 11th, 1876. A crowd of fanatical theological students, who wished to secure improvement in the Government, compelled the Russophil Grand Vizier to resign.

May 29th, 1876. The Sultan Abdul Aziz, whose extravagance had provoked great discontent, was compelled to resign and either was murdered or committed suicide.

May 30th, 1876. Murad V was proclaimed Sultan.

August 31st, 1876. Deposition of Murad V. His brother became the Sultan Abdul Hamid II, "the Damned."

D. Revolt of Serbia and Montenegro.

July 1st, 1876, Serbia and, July 2nd, Montenegro declared war on Turkey, partly because their people were clamouring for war and partly because they hoped to get help from Russia. They hoped to restore under Murad V the Serbian Empire which had fallen with Murad I.

¹ i.e. Bulgaria. The famous phrase "bag and baggage" did not apply to Europe.

(1) Montenegro.

The warlike Montenegrins defeated the Turks at Medun and Danilograd.

(2) Serbia.

a. The War.

The Serbians had been weakened by two generations of peace but many Russians fought in the Serbian army which was commanded by the Russian general Tchernayeff. The Serbians were defeated at Zajecbar and Aleksinats and, in August, at the suggestion of Great Britain, Prince Milan begged for the intervention of the Powers.

An armistice was granted by Turkey but the war was renewed on the proclamation of Milan as King of Serbia on September 16th, 1876. The Serbians were again routed, and the Turks conquered southern Serbia and threatened Belgrade.

b. Disraeli.

September 21st, 1876. Disraeli, driven to take action by the pressure of British public opinion and the desire to avert Russian intervention, suggested to the Sultan that the *status quo* should be maintained in Serbia and Montenegro; that local autonomy should be granted to Bosnia and Herzegovina; that Bulgaria should be properly administered; that a complete scheme of reform should be made by the Sultan and the Powers.

The Sultan refused to accept these terms or to agree to Disraeli's further suggestion that a Conference of the Powers should deal with the question.

c. Russia.

The Czar Alexander II felt bound to save Belgrade and to protect Serbia from annihilation. When the Sultan refused Disraeli's suggestions the Czar massed troops in Southern Russia.

October 30th, 1876. Ignatieff presented an ultimatum demanding that Turkey should conclude an armistice with Serbia within forty-eight hours.

November 1st, 1876. The Sultan, yielding to Russian pressure, granted the armistice and Serbia was saved.

March 1st, 1877. Peace was concluded at Constantinople between Turkey and Serbia on the basis of the *status quo*.

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Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, pp. 381-387.

The Development of European Nations (Rose), Constable, chap. vii.

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THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

I. From the Armistice of November, 1876, to the Outbreak of War.

A. Disraeli and Alexander II.

Alexander II, partly through fear of the growth of a revolutionary party in Russia, was anxious to avoid war with Turkey which might lead to war with Great Britain. But he could not desert Serbia and knew that his subjects were demanding war with Turkey.

November 2nd, 1876. He assured the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg that unless the Powers acted

with vigour he "should be obliged to act alone," although "he had not the smallest wish or intention to be possessed of Constantinople."

The Russian ultimatum of October 30th had caused strong resentment in England and Disraeli believed that the Czar was determined to secure for himself all possible advantage from the crisis, and that the success of Russia would be a danger to India.

November 9th, 1876. At the Mansion House banquet he declared that in the defence of her Empire Great Britain was "not a country that would have to inquire whether she would enter into a second or third campaign."

November 10th, 1876. The Czar declared that if Turkey refused to accede to the demands of the Powers Russia would take up arms to end an "intolerable" situation. He mobilised an army of 160,000 men.

B. The Conference at Constantinople.

By the Agreement of Reichstadt (July 8th, 1876), which became a definite treaty on January 15th, 1877, Austria had assured Russia of her friendly neutrality if a Russo-Turkish War broke out, probably on condition that Russia should annex no land south of the Danube and should not touch Constantinople while, on certain conditions, Austria should occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. But this was a precautionary measure and Alexander II was anxious to avoid war if possible. The Bulgarian Horrors had destroyed the sympathy of Great Britain with Turkey and "rendered a Turco-British alliance impossible."

On the proposal of Lord Derby a new Conference of the Powers met at Constantinople on December 23rd, 1876. Lord Salisbury, the British representative, had far less sympathy with Turkey than Disraeli.

The Conference demanded autonomy for Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria and an increase of territory for Serbia and Montenegro. But the liberal-minded Midhat Pasha, appointed Grand Vizier on December 19th, 1876,

drew up for Turkey a new constitution which provided for the establishment of a Legislature of two Chambers, a responsible Executive, freedom of meeting and of the press, an independent judiciary and compulsory education. The Sultan refused the demands of the Powers on the ground that the new reforms would ensure good government.

January 21st, 1877. The Conference broke up. "It had served its purpose. It had fooled Europe." In May Abdul Hamid II disgraced Midhat Pasha and withdrew the new constitution.

C. The London Protocol.

The Czar now concluded his formal treaty with Austria, tried unsuccessfully to secure a promise of help from Germany in case of need, and induced Beaconsfield's ministry¹ to agree to the London Protocol of March 31st, 1877, by which the Powers expressed approval of the new constitution which Abdul Hamid had promised to establish, but reserved the right "to consider in common as to the means which they may deem best fitted to secure the well-being of the Christian populations and the interests of the general peace."

The Sultan, who believed that the British Government, whose fleet was still in Besika Bay, would help him against Russia, refused to accept the Protocol, and his ambassador declared, on April 12th, 1877, that "Turkey, as an independent State, cannot submit to be placed under any surveillance, whether collective or not."

War was now inevitable. Alexander II had acted with great restraint in spite of strong provocation from Turkey and strong pressure from militarists and Pan-Slavists in his own country, and had tried to maintain the union of the Powers by which alone peace could be maintained. If Disraeli's cabinet had consistently supported Russia war might have been averted, but division of opinion between Disraeli, who was Turcophil, and

¹ Disraeli had been created Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876.

others who favoured strong measures against the Turks, made the action of Great Britain inconsistent and encouraged Turkey to persist in her opposition to the Powers. The main cause of the Russo-Turkish War was the tortuous diplomacy of Abdul Hamid, who was strongly opposed to any reform and hoped that the serious differences between Russia and Great Britain as to their Asiatic policy would secure for him the help of Great Britain against Russia.

II. The War.

A. The Outbreak of the War.

April 24th, 1877. The Russians crossed the Turkish frontier.

(1) Great Britain.

The possibility of British intervention on behalf of Turkey was averted by the assurance of Gortchakoff, on May 30th, that Russia had no designs on Constantinople, Egypt or the Suez Canal.

(2) Roumania.

The Turkish fleet commanded the Black Sea. Russia could attack Turkey only by land and the co-operation of Roumania was indispensable.

April 16th, 1877. Roumania gave free passage to Russian armies; Russia undertook to "maintain and defend the actual integrity of Roumania." But the Czar's demand that the Roumanians should fight under the Grand Duke Nicholas offended Prince Charles, and in the beginning of the war the Roumanians did nothing except hold the left flank of the Russian army.

May 21st, 1877. The Sultan, who claimed suzerainty over Roumania, protested against the agreement with Russia and bombarded the Roumanian town of Calafat.

May 22nd, 1877. Roumania proclaimed her independence of Turkey.

(3) Montenegro.

April 29th, 1877. Montenegro resumed hostilities against Turkey.

B. Military Operations.

The Russians planned operations under the Grand Duke Nicholas in the Balkans and under the Grand Duke Michael and General Melikoff in the Caucasus.

(1) The Russians in the Balkans.

The advance of the Russians was slow. Roumanian railways had only single lines; the Danube was in flood and was actively patrolled by Turkish gunboats; the low northern bank was commanded by the higher southern bank which the Turks held, and its marshes caused many cases of malarial fever in the Russian army. Mobilisation was slow; gross speculation impaired the quality and quantity of the necessary stores. The Russian forces in the Balkans numbered about 200,000 men; the infantry and artillery were good, the cavalry poor.

The Turks kept a large force in the west to check the Montenegrins; their main army held the Quadrilateral fortresses Rustchuk, Silistria, Shumla and Varna, which commanded the roads leading to the eastern side of the Balkans; forty thousand men under Osman Pasha held Widdin near the Serbian frontier and commanded the roads leading to the western Balkans.

a. The Danube crossed.

The Russian army entered Bulgaria in April. June 22nd, 1877. The Russians crossed the Danube at Galatz, secured a hold on the Dobrudja and contained the Turkish right.

June 26th-27th, 1877. The Russians crossed the Danube at Simnista and occupied Sistova, Nicopolis and Biela in Bulgaria, thus securing their base on the Danube.

b. Plevna.

The Russians marched rapidly through Bulgaria towards the Balkans.

July 11th-14th, 1877. Gurko forced the Khainkoi Pass, wheeled westward and, July 19th, 1877, forced the Shipka Pass from the south and secured the road to Philippopolis and Adrianople.

The Turks, who hitherto had proved lacking in energy, now acted vigorously. Troops were recalled from the West.

July 19th, 1877. Osman Pasha occupied Plevna, which commanded the chief roads of Bulgaria, and seriously threatened the Russian lines of communication. He repulsed, with heavy losses, two Russian attempts to storm Plevna on July 20th and July 31st; Gurko was defeated by Mehemet Ali at Stara Zagora. The Russians were in grave danger of defeat and it is possible that if Suleiman, instead of continuing operations against the Balkan passes, had joined Osman or Mehemet Ali, who was attacking Biela, or if Osman had adopted a vigorous offensive the Russians might have been driven back to the Danube.

The Russians now besieged Plevna and accepted the active assistance of the Roumanians; Prince Charles took command of the allied armies. Todleben¹ organised a regular siege. Osman Pasha continued to offer heroic resistance and, on September 11th, repelled a vigorous assault although the Roumanians took the Grivitsa redout.

December 10th, 1877. Capitulation of Plevna.

[December 14th, 1877. Serbia declared war on Turkey.]

¹ The hero of Sebastopol.

Osman had held up Russian forces, which were three times as large as his own, for five months. He probably made a mistake in not following up his victories of July 31st and September 11th; the Russians probably were wrong in making the whole campaign depend on Plevna.

c. The Capture of Adrianople.

After the fall of Plevna the Russians advanced rapidly across the Balkans towards Adrianople.

January 4th, 1878. Gurko took Sofia and, on January 17th, routed Suleiman at Philippopolis and took the town.

January 9th, 1878. Skobelev routed Suleiman at Senova, the deciding battle of the war.

January 20th, 1878. The Russians occupied Adrianople.

January 31st, 1878. An armistice was made at Adrianople.

(2) The Caucasus.

April 30th, 1877. Michael and Melikoff invaded Armenia.

November 18th, 1877. The Russians stormed Kars which had been besieged since June 3rd and gallantly defended by Mukhtar Pasha.

February 21st, 1878. The Russians took Erzeroum.

(3) Montenegro.

Prince Nicholas of Montenegro gained many successes.

September 7th, 1877. Capture of Nikschich.

January, 1878. Capture of Antivari and Dulcigno. The Montenegrins thus reached the Adriatic.

(4) Serbia.

The Serbians, under Prince Milan, took Nish, their old capital, about January 10th, 1878, and defeated the Turks at Vrania.

January 31st, 1878. The Armistice of Adrianople provided for the independence and enlargement of Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro, the establishment of a principality of Bulgaria with extended frontiers, autonomy for Bosnia. In spite of the great bravery of their soldiers the Turks had been defeated owing to the weakness of their strategy and the incapacity and corruption of their government.

III. The Treaty of San Stefano, March, 1878.

A. Some Difficulties.

(1) Russia.

a. Great Britain.

The success of Russia caused grave concern in Great Britain where fears were felt that Russia would occupy Constantinople in spite of her recent promises to the contrary. Germany had refused to accede to the request for the mediation of the Powers which Turkey made on January 3rd, 1878, and it was suspected that Russia, relying upon the support of Germany, would impose her own terms on the Sultan. Gladstone thundered against the "unspeakable Turk," but Beaconsfield was suspicious of Russia and was supported by popular opinion which found expression in the music-hall song :

"We don't want to fight,
But, by Jingo, if we do,
We've got the men, we've got the ships,
And we've got the money too."

January 17th, 1878. In the Queen's Speech Beaconsfield warned Russia that "some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent upon me to adopt measures of precaution."

A direct appeal on behalf of Turkey by telegram from Queen Victoria to the Czar had no effect.

January 23rd, 1878. The British fleet in Besika Bay was ordered to enter the Dardanelles. Resignation of Carnarvon and Derby; the latter withdrew his resignation on the cancellation of the order.

January 28th, 1878. The British Parliament voted £6,000,000 to pay for additional munitions of war.

February 15th, 1878. The British fleet anchored off Prinkipo Island within ten miles of the Russians at San Stefano. The Russians threatened, in reply, to occupy Constantinople to protect the Christian population. The Sultan feared both friends and foes, and at his request the British fleet returned to Besika Bay.

b. Austria.

February 3rd, 1878. Austria protested against the terms of the armistice on the ground that they modified existing treaties made by the Powers of Europe; she suggested that a European Congress should be held at Vienna and mobilised her army.

March 4th, 1878. Derby agreed to the demand of Austria for a Conference, on condition that "all questions dealt with in the Treaty of Paris between Russia and Turkey should be considered as subjects to be discussed."

c. Germany.

February, 1878. Bismarck in the *Reichstag* offered to act as an "honest broker" between Russia and Turkey.

(2) Greece.

The Greeks, encouraged by the Russian advance on Adrianople, took up arms against Turkey, supported insurrections in Epirus, Thessaly and Crete, and prepared for war with Turkey.

The Greek troops, which had invaded Thessaly on February 3rd, 1878, were withdrawn on the instructions of the Powers who promised that Greece should have full consideration at the Congress.

B. The Treaty of San Stefano.

March 3rd, 1878. Russia and Turkey made the Treaty of Stefano.

(1) Terms.

a. Russia.

(i) Europe.

Russia demanded from Turkey an indemnity of £140,000,000, but reduced this to £30,000,000 on condition of receiving the Dobrudja. She proposed to compel Roumania to give up Southern Bessarabia, which she had lost by the Treaty of Paris in 1856.

Turkey was to demolish her fortresses on the Danube.

(ii) Asia.

Russia received Batoum, Kars, Ardahan and Bayazid.

b. Bulgaria.

Bulgaria was to be an autonomous tributary principality ; it was to have outlets on both the Black and Aegean Seas and to extend westwards to the boundaries of Albania, including Monastir but not Salonika, and northwards to the Danube. "Big Bulgaria" would thus have included more than half of the Balkan Peninsula and commanded the approaches to Salonika and Constantinople.

c. Serbia.

Serbia was to be recognised as an independent state and was no longer to pay tribute to Turkey. She was to receive Nish and her territory was to be extended to the South-West, nearly as far as the borders of Montenegro.

d. Montenegro.

Montenegro was to be recognised as an independent state ; she was to keep Nikschich and the Adriatic ports of Spizza, Antivari and Dulcigno and to receive some portions of Bosnia.

e. Roumania.

Roumania was to be recognised as an independent state.

f. Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These were to receive autonomy under a Christian Governor-General.

g. Crete, Epirus and Thessaly.

These were to receive some measure of autonomy "adapted to local requirements."

h. Armenia.

Turkey promised to grant reforms to Armenia and to protect the country from Kurds and Circassians.

(2) Criticism.

a. A Slavonic settlement.

The Treaty greatly strengthened the Slav States and the influence of Russia in the Balkans. It was expected that Big Bulgaria, which was to be supervised by a Russian governor for two years, would become practically a Russian province and would facilitate any attempt Russia might make to gain Constantinople. Reforms effected in Armenia, Epirus and Thessaly were to be subject to the approval of Russia.

Beaconsfield declared that "all the European dominions of the Ottoman Porte are . . . put under the administration of Russia. . . . The effect of all the stipulations combined will be to make the Black Sea as much a Russian lake as the Caspian."

But Russia had agreed ¹ that Austria should occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina and therefore did not fulfil the hopes that the Serbians had formed of annexing Bosnia.

b. The dismemberment of Turkey.

The Turkish Empire in Europe was practically broken up. Turkey was to retain in the Balkans only Roumelia, the peninsula of Salonika, Thessaly, Epirus, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and several of these districts were to receive autonomous government. The districts were scattered (e.g. Bulgaria would intervene between Salonika and Constanti-

¹ Page 162.

nople) and communication between them was difficult.

C. Dissatisfaction in the Balkans.

Grave dissatisfaction was caused in the Balkans.

(1) Serbia.

Serbia resented her failure to secure Bosnia and the inclusion of Serbian territory in Big Bulgaria.

(2) Roumania.

Roumania justly resented the ingratitude of Russia which, in spite of the valuable help Roumania had given her in the late war, insisted on the exchange of Southern Bessarabia for the unfertile Dobrudja.

(3) Greece.

Greece was disappointed that she did not get Macedonia.

(4) Bulgaria.

Big Bulgaria became an object of grave suspicion to her neighbours. The Mahommedans of Bulgaria strongly objected to submission to Christian rule; the presence of Serbians and other non-Bulgarian elements added an element of discord.

(5) Albania.

The Albanians complained that they would be sacrificed for the aggrandisement of Bulgaria and Montenegro.

D. Opposition of the Powers.

(1) Great Britain.

Great Britain knew that in the past the support given by Russia to Greek Christians had not been disinterested and was anxious to prevent any extension of Russian power which might threaten the route to

India. She objected particularly to the establishment of a Big Bulgaria which was expected to become an instrument of Russia. She objected to the violation of the Treaty of Paris which was involved in the Treaty of San Stefano, and again demanded that the latter should be submitted in its entirety for consideration by Congress of the Powers.

(2) Austria.

Austria regarded Big Bulgaria as a barrier to her extension to the South-East.

E. Danger of a European War.

(1) Beaconsfield's vigorous action.

Russia was most unwilling to refer the Treaty of San Stefano to a European Congress. There seemed a real danger of war between Russia and Great Britain.

March, 1878. Beaconsfield called out the reserves and determined to seize a port in Syria to guard the road to India.

April 17th, 1878. Beaconsfield ordered seven thousand Indian troops to proceed to Malta.¹

(2) Alexander II gives way.

The vigorous action of Beaconsfield ; the knowledge that if war broke out Austria would probably support Great Britain and the exasperated Roumanians would probably rise against Russia ; the discovery that Bismarck would not help Russia against Austria in spite of the great service Russia had rendered to Prussia by protecting her flanks in 1864 and 1866 and containing Austria in 1870 ; the appalling mortality among the Russian troops in the recent war and the fear that foreign war would give an opportunity for Nihilist risings at home led Alexander to accept an invitation to the Congress of Berlin.

For the legality of this action, see *Notes on British History*, Vol. IV, page 918.

References :

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THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

I. Preliminary Negotiations.

A. Great Britain and Russia.

May 30th, 1878. Schuvaloff, the Russian Ambassador in London, and Salisbury, who had succeeded Derby as Foreign Minister on March 30th, secretly agreed that—

- (1) Big Bulgaria should be made smaller and Turkish authority should be maintained over the district south of the Balkans, now termed Eastern Roumelia.
- (2) All the Powers, and not Russia alone, should approve of reforms in Thessaly, Epirus and Armenia.
- (3) Russia, in spite of Great Britain's "profound regret," was to keep Roumanian Bessarabia; to restore Bayazid but to keep Kars, Batoum and Ardahan.

[The *Globe* disclosed this secret agreement and, when its existence was denied, published on June 14th the original deed.]

B. Great Britain and Turkey.

June 4th, 1878. Salisbury made a secret agreement with Turkey—

- (1) The Sultan promised to allow Great Britain to occupy and administer Cyprus as long as Russia kept Kars, Batoum and Ardahan; Great Britain agreed to pay to Turkey the surplus revenues of the island. Great Britain was, if necessary, to maintain Turkish interests in Asia Minor.

- (2) The Sultan promised to introduce the necessary reforms into his Asiatic Dominions—including Armenia.

C. Great Britain and Austria.

Great Britain agreed that Austria should occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina and thus secured her support.

D. Results.

The chief points at issue were settled secretly before the Congress of Berlin, but Beaconsfield's diplomacy greatly irritated both Russia and Turkey and partly accounts for the violent disputes between him and Gortchakoff which, but for the tact of Bismarck, might have broken up the Congress of Berlin.

II. Terms.

June 13th, 1878. At the Congress of Berlin Beaconsfield and Salisbury represented Great Britain; Gortchakoff and Schuvaloff, Russia; Waddington, France; Andrassy and Haymerle, Austria; Corti, Italy; Bismarck, who was elected President, Germany; Mehemet Ali, Turkey. The Balkan States were not directly represented; although the Greek and Roumanian delegates were allowed to state their case they had no votes.

A. The Preliminary Agreements confirmed.

In accordance with the Preliminary Agreements Big Bulgaria was reduced by the cession of Eastern Roumelia to Turkey. Russia gave up Bayazid but kept Kars, Ardahan, and Batoum, which she promised to keep as an unfortified open port. Great Britain occupied Cyprus.

(1) Bulgaria.

a. Extent.

Bulgaria lost 2,500,000 of population and 30,000 square miles of territory and the outlet

on the Aegean which it was to receive according to the Treaty of San Stefano. Thus Macedonia was restored to Turkey.

b. Organisation.

It was to be administered by Russia for only nine months. It was to be "an autonomous and tributary Principality under the suzerainty of the Sultan," its Prince was to be elected by the people, confirmed by the Sultan and approved by the Powers. No member of a reigning European family was to be elected.

(2) Eastern Roumelia.

Eastern Roumelia was brought under the suzerainty of Turkey but was to be organised by a Commission of the Powers and administered by a Christian Governor nominated by the Sultan.

(3) Cyprus.

In Cyprus Great Britain obtained a "place of arms" which would enable her more easily to check Russian extension in Asia Minor and to defend the Suez Canal.

(4) Armenia.

Great Britain assumed moral responsibility for the protection and reform of Armenia which the Sultan explicitly promised to ensure.

B. Austria.

Austria received the right to "occupy and administer" Bosnia and Herzegovina, which remained nominally under the suzerainty of Turkey, and to maintain garrisons in the Sandjak of Novi Bazar.

The two provinces had few Turkish inhabitants; they contained Roman Catholics, members of the Greek Church and Mahomedans. A strong foreign power seemed more likely to ensure good government than any one of the native elements.

C. Serbia.

The independence of Serbia was recognised. She received Nish and some Bulgarian territory to the South-East and these additions represented a quarter of her former extent. She was greatly disappointed that the Sandjak of Novi Bazar was not divided between her and Montenegro, as the Treaty of San Stefano provided, but occupied by Austria which thus drove a wedge between the two principalities.

D. Montenegro.

The independence of Montenegro, which she had practically enjoyed for years, was formally recognised. She received Antivari, thus securing an Adriatic port, but was compelled to surrender Spizza to Austria and Dulcigno to Turkey.

E. Roumania.

Roumania was recognised as independent but compelled to cede Southern Bessarabia, which was essentially Roumanian, to Russia in exchange for the unfertile Dobrudja which contained large Bulgarian and Turkish elements. She also received some Bulgarian territory adjoining the Dobrudja. She promised to grant political equality to her Jewish subjects.

F. Greece.

Greece asked for the cession of Crete, Epirus, Thessaly and Albania but received nothing. The Sultan ignored a recommendation of the Congress that he should rectify the northern frontier of Greece.

G. Turkey.

Turkey guaranteed full religious liberty to all her subjects. She explicitly promised to effect reforms in Crete, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia and Albania which remained Turkish.

III. Criticism.

The secret treaties of May and June had settled the main points at issue and, to a large extent, the Congress of Berlin was little more than a court of registration. It upset the Treaty of San Stefano.

A. Anti-Slav.

(1) Russia.

Russia lost important advantages which she had hoped to secure by the Treaty of San Stefano and her influence in the Balkans was weakened. "After a costly war Russia was deprived of the spoils of victory by Great Britain and Austria with the connivance of Germany."

a. Big Bulgaria.

It was thought that a Big Bulgaria would be under the influence of Russia and that the separation of Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia would enable Turkey more easily to defend the approaches to Adrianople and Constantinople.

b. The Danube and Dardanelles.

No men-of-war were to enter the Danube below the Iron Gate and Russia was no longer able to send gunboats to coerce Bulgaria and Roumania.

The limitations on Russian navigation in the Dardanelles and Black Sea, which had been imposed in 1856 and 1871, were reaffirmed.

c. Growth of anti-Russian feeling.

Roumania bitterly resented the ingratitude of Russia and was driven to rely upon Austria and the Triple Alliance instead of Russia.

Serbia complained that Russia had failed to support her in her attempt to maintain the Slav cause and, on June 28th, 1881, made a secret treaty with Austria. By this treaty Serbia agreed to permit no intrigues against Austria and to make no treaty without the consent of Austria which thus gained control of Serbia's foreign policy. Austria promised to protect Serbia, to support the Obrenovitch dynasty and to recognise Milan as king.

1882. Milan took the title of King of Serbia.

d. Russia and Great Britain.

Beaconsfield, whose hostility to Russia was one of the main factors in the proceedings, had inflicted a serious check on Russia in Europe. But the Treaty of Berlin diverted Russian activity from the Bosphorus towards the frontier of Afghanistan and India and made still more difficult the problem of the North-West Frontier. Many agreed with Lord Salisbury's statement that in supporting Turkey at the Congress of Berlin we "backed the wrong horse."

e. Russia and Germany.

The action of Bismarck in checking the designs of Russia greatly irritated Alexander II and led to estrangement between Russia and Germany which may be regarded as a remote cause of the *Dual Entente*¹ and the division of Europe into two camps.

(2) Pan-Slavism checked.

The Pan-Slav movement received a serious check. The Austrian occupation of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Novi Bazar averted a union of Serbia, Bosnia and

¹ Page 74.

Montenegro and the revival of the old Serbian Empire of Stephen Dushan¹; the division of Bulgaria and the resentment caused by the cession of Bulgarian territory to Serbia and Roumania made union between these three states most improbable; the restoration of Dulcigno and Spizza limited the extension of Slav influence on the Adriatic.

Austria, now a Balkan state, became "the Sentinel of the Balkans," and the removal of the Serbian barrier enabled her to carry out her *Drang nach Osten*.

B. Pro-Turk.

Beaconsfield had failed to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire which had lost much territory and eleven millions of subjects. But the Treaty of Berlin saved for Turkey Macedonia and Eastern Roumelia and limited the gains of Russia in Asia Minor. Beaconsfield had snatched from the brink of destruction the remnant of the Turkish Empire.

The right of Turkey to prevent foreign warships from entering the Straits was confirmed.

Germany secured no new territory but won the friendship of Turkey of which she later took full advantage to promote her scheme of *Weltpolitik*, while the support of Germany enabled the Sultan to keep a footing in Europe in spite of the loss of much more territory between 1878 and 1912.

C. How far successful.

(1) Obvious failures.

The failures of the Treaty were due partly to the inability of the Congress to appreciate the growing power of nationality in the Balkan States, to Beaconsfield's belief that Turkey would carry out her promises of reform and that Russia could be checked only by

¹ Died 1355.

war. In several respects the terms of the Treaty were soon broken.

a. Asia Minor.

Beaconsfield's policy was conspicuously unsuccessful in Asia Minor.

- (i) Cyprus proved of little military value to Great Britain.
- (ii) July, 1886. Russia fortified Batoum.
- (iii) 1896. Wholesale massacre of Armenians by Kurds and Circassians with the approval of the Sultan who had carried out none of the reforms he had promised.
- (iv) 1897. Outbreak of an insurrection against Turkey in Greece.

b. Bulgaria.

1885. Formation of a Big Bulgaria by the addition of Eastern Roumelia. Big Bulgaria gradually became estranged from Russia.

c. Macedonia.

The severance of Macedonia from Bulgaria was wise. But the failure of the Congress to make adequate provision for its good government under the guarantee of the Powers was a grave mistake.

Turkish rule in Macedonia proved ineffective and the Macedonian problem was to lead to chronic unrest and, in particular, to war between Turkey and Greece in 1897.

d. Roumania.

Roumania did not grant political equality to Jews.

e. Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1908. Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina.

f. Montenegro.

1880. Montenegro got Dulcigno in compensation for Albanian territory which she had failed to secure although it had been ceded to her by the Treaty of Berlin.

g. Greece.

1881. Owing to the mediation of Great Britain and France Greece got most of Thessaly and a part of Epirus.

(2) "Peace with Honour."

Beaconsfield's obvious success in checking the designs of Russia gained him much popularity and his assertion that he had secured for Great Britain "Peace with Honour" was accepted by many as correct. The issue proved that he had brought neither Peace to Europe nor Honour to Great Britain.

(3) The Balkan States.

"The enduring significance of the Treaty . . . is found in the new nations which were arising upon the ruins of (the Turkish) empire."¹ Pan-Slavism had failed to solve the problem of the Balkans, but Nationalism, which involved important modifications of the Treaty, proved more successful. "The history of the last fifty years in South-Eastern Europe is to a great extent the history of the disentanglement of the Slavonic races from Greeks and Turks, and to this is now succeeding the disentanglement of the Slavonic races from one another."² Roumania became a kingdom in 1881, Serbia in 1882. In 1908 Ferdinand was proclaimed Czar of Bulgaria, in 1910 Nicholas became first King of Montenegro. The event proved

¹ Marriott.

² Sir Charles Eliot.

the truth of Gladstone's assertion, "You want to place a living barrier between Russia and Turkey. There is no barrier like the breasts of freemen."

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BULGARIA, 1878-1908

I. The Organisation of the Government.

Prince Korsakoff acted as Commissioner of Bulgaria pending the election of a Prince ; he appointed Russians to the chief posts.

A. The Organic Law.

April 28th, 1879. The Organic Law, drawn up in accordance with the Treaty of Berlin, established the government.

(1) Provisions.

a. The *Sobranje*.

The *Sobranje* or National Council was to be a single Chamber, the members of which were elected by universal manhood suffrage and received payment.

A *Grand Sobranje* was to be specially called to deal with the succession to the Crown, the revision of the constitution or the acquisition or cession of territory.

b. The Prince.

The Prince was to be elected ; he had the power of dissolving the *Sobranje* at his pleasure ; he appointed all ministers, who were responsible to him alone.

(2) Criticism.

Korsakoff approved of the Organic Law because it seemed certain to cause friction between the Prince and the *Sobranje* and to give Russia an opportunity of intervention.

B. Prince Alexander of Battenberg.

April 29th, 1879. Prince Alexander of Battenberg, a nephew of Alexander II, son of Prince Alexander of Hesse, was elected Prince of Bulgaria. He was a Prussian lieutenant and had fought at Plevna. He was a brave soldier but overbearing and obstinate. He had had no political education and was only twenty-two years old.

II. The Prince and the *Sobranje*.

A. Opposition.

The Prince wrote that he was "devoted with my whole heart to the Czar Alexander," and at first favoured the Russophil party which formed a minority in the *Sobranje*. The favour he showed to Russian officials roused great discontent and two *Sobranjes* strongly opposed the Prince and his ministers.

May, 1881. The Prince suspended the Organic Law and a packed *Sobranje* gave him absolute power for seven years. He appointed two Russian generals, Soboleff and Kaulbars, as Premier and Minister of War.

B. Reconciliation.

Alexander III (1881-1894) was less friendly to the Prince than his father had been; the imperious Russian generals, who "treated the Bulgarians as Asiatics and detested their ruler as a German," took their orders from the Czar and not the Prince; but in Stambouloff, the son of an innkeeper at Jirnovó, the Bulgarian nationalists found a competent leader. The

Prince determined to rely upon his own subjects and united with the Liberals to support the principle "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians."

September 18th, 1883. Prince Alexander restored the Bulgarian Constitution. Resignation of Soboleff and Kaulbars who failed in their attempt to kidnap the Prince and left Bulgaria.

III. Union of Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria.

A. Growth of National Feeling in Eastern Roumelia.

The movement for reunion in Eastern Roumelia had received support from Alexander III, who hoped that he would become Grand Duke of Big Bulgaria and hated "the Battenberger" who stood in his way. Russia favoured the establishment of "gymnastic societies," which proved so successful that they had trained 40,000 men in the use of arms by 1885 and greatly strengthened national feeling. The Rumeliotes were enraged by the Sultan's veto of local legislation and wished to establish a customs union with Bulgaria. The general result was to strengthen national feeling and the demand for reunion with Bulgaria.

B. The Union, 1885.

September 18th, 1885. Gavil Pasha, the Sultan's representative, was seized at Philippopolis and compelled to leave the country and the Union of Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria under Prince Alexander was proclaimed.

The Prince hesitated to accept the offer, which would be resented by Turkey and Russia. Stambouloff told him "two roads lie before you, the one to Philippopolis the other to Darmstadt."

September 21st, 1885. Alexander accepted the offer and entered Philippopolis as Prince of the united provinces. The *Sobranje* approved of the Union and voted supplies to maintain it.

C. The Powers.

Alexander had not consulted the Powers but circumstances favoured him. Popular feeling in Great Britain was adverse to the restoration to Turkey of a province which had broken away from it and Great Britain was involved in disputes with Russia about Pendjeh¹ and with France and Turkey about Egypt,² while Ireland was distracted by the Parnellite agitation. France was concerned about her failure in Tonquin.³ Germany was entering upon a new colonial policy. Russia had to face the Dual Alliance abroad and grave danger from Nihilism at home. Abdul Hamid wished to keep his best troops to strengthen his position in Constantinople. Austria thought that a Big Bulgaria would oppose and not support Russia.

The marriage of Princess Beatrice to Prince Henry of Battenberg on July 23rd, 1885, won some sympathy in England for Prince Alexander and Lord Salisbury definitely supported him.

There was little danger that the Powers would actively oppose the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia.

IV. The Serbo-Bulgarian War, November, 1885.

But Greece and Serbia, the rivals of Bulgaria in the Balkans, demanded compensation for the extension of the Principality and wished to re-establish the Balance of Power in the Balkans which it had disturbed.

A. Reasons for Serbia's Action.

Serbia alone was dangerous. King Milan was unpopular; an attempt had recently been made on his life at Belgrade; Prince Peter Karageorgevitch, his rival, had recently married a daughter of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro; a tariff war had aroused hostility between Serbia and Bulgaria. The Russians had withdrawn

¹ Page 281.

² Page 59.

³ Page 61.

their officers from Bulgaria; the Bulgarian army was commanded largely by officers of little experience and the Sultan's resentment compelled Alexander to station considerable bodies of troops on his southern border.

Milan thought the time opportune for a spirited foreign policy which would strengthen his dynasty.

B. The War.

November 14th, 1885. Milan declared war on Bulgaria. His action roused Bulgarian national feeling and the whole nation rushed to arms.

November 17th-19th, 1885. Largely owing to the skill of General Bendereff, the Bulgarians routed the Serbians at Slivnitza.

November 27th, 1885. The Bulgarians captured Pirot. The road to Belgrade seemed open.

November 28th, 1885. Austria compelled Alexander to make a truce by the threat that she would help Serbia if the war continued. Alexander wisely submitted although the Bulgarians were bitterly disappointed that they could not complete the victory. But this war of fourteen days had assured the continuance of the Union.

March 3rd, 1886. The Treaty of Bucharest restored the *status quo ante bellum*.

The Sultan was induced by Sir William White, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, to realise that "a Bulgaria, friendly to the Porte, and jealous of foreign interference, would be a far surer bulwark against foreign aggression than two Bulgarias."

April 5th, 1886. The Powers recognised "the Prince of Bulgaria" as Governor of Eastern Roumelia for five years. The name of Alexander was omitted on the demand of Russia, and an agreement for mutual military aid between Turkey and Bulgaria was cancelled by command of the Powers. But in spite of these humiliations a new state "was evolved out of the protoplasm of Balkan chaos."

V. The Fall of Prince Alexander.

A. Continued Hostility of Russia.

The Czar, Alexander III, strongly resented the action of Prince Alexander. On May 19th, 1886, he declared at Sebastopol that he might be compelled "by force of arms to defend the dignity of the (Russian) empire," i.e. against Bulgaria and Turkey. He fortified Batoum¹ in defiance of the Treaty of Berlin.

Russian agents made use of the discontent felt by Bendereff and other officers with the inadequate reward they had received for services against Serbia.

B. Alexander deposed.

August 21st, 1886. Eighty military conspirators compelled Prince Alexander to abdicate and carried him off from Sophia to Russian territory. A provisional government, favourable to Russia, was established under Bishop Clement.

C. The Return and Final Abdication of Alexander.

But Stambouloff and Mutkuroff, the commander of the garrison at Philippopolis, overthrew the provisional government and, on August 29th, 1886, with the unanimous approval of the Bulgarians, invited Prince Alexander to return.

At Rustchuk, where he was welcomed by the Russian Consul, the Prince most foolishly sent a telegram to the Czar saying, "Russia having given me my crown, I am ready to give it back into the hands of its sovereign." The Czar sent a telegram strongly disapproving of the return of Prince Alexander.

August 21st, 1886. Prince Alexander, unnerved by the continued hostility of the Czar, was compelled by Russian officers to abdicate and left Bulgaria on September 7th.

¹ Page 176.

VI. Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg.

A. The Election of Ferdinand.

(1) Stambouloff, Dictator.

Austria determined to prevent Russia from securing predominance in Bulgaria and received promises of support from Great Britain and Italy which resented the Czar's treatment of Prince Alexander. Bismarck refused to intervene.

The Czar, having failed to rouse Bulgaria against the regents, sent General Nicholas Kaulbars nominally to "assist" the Bulgarians, really to maintain Russian interests. But in spite of his efforts the Regents, of whom Stambouloff was the Chief, insisted on the election of the *Sobranje*. The new *Sobranje* contained 470 supporters of the Regents and only thirty Russophiles; made Stambouloff dictator and, on November 10th, 1886, elected Prince Waldemar of Denmark. Owing to pressure from the Czar he declined the offer. Kaulbars, who had been no match for Stambouloff, was recalled on November 19th.

Stambouloff resolutely crushed all Russian plots and, on March 7th, 1887, shot seven Russian officers for complicity in them.

(2) The Election.

July 7th, 1887. The *Sobranje*, owing to Stambouloff's influence, rejected the Czar's candidate, the Prince of Migrelia, and elected Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, the grandson of Louis Philippe, who accepted the offer. Russia refused to recognise him and there was grave danger that the Bulgarian question would lead to war between Russia and Austria.

February, 1888. Bismarck published the Treaty made between Austria and Germany in 1879, and repeated his promises that Austria, if attacked

by Russia, should not lose her independence or her position as a Great Power. The Czar feared that active intervention would lead to war between Russia and the Triple Alliance and therefore with reluctance gave up his attempts to secure the expulsion of Ferdinand. Bulgaria and Serbia now looked to the support of Austria whose influence in the Balkans was greatly strengthened by the failure of Russia in Bulgaria.

B. Stambouloff Chief Minister.

1887-1894. Stambouloff now tried to secure the absolute independence of Bulgaria and to improve the internal conditions of the country. He obtained the support of Turkey and by strong but ruthless methods "the Bismarck of the Balkans" achieved his object.

"Thanks to the liberating armies of Russia, to the prowess of the Bulgarians themselves, to the inspiring personality of Prince Alexander and the stubborn tenacity of Stambouloff, the young state gained a firm grip of life."¹

C. The Sole Rule of Ferdinand.

Difficulties arose between Ferdinand, who wished to establish friendly relations with Russia and thus to secure due recognition for himself and his wife, Princess Marie of Bourbon, and his efficient but autocratic minister.

May, 1894. Resignation of Stambouloff.

July 15th, 1895. Assassination of Stambouloff.

(1) Friendship with Russia.

1896. Baptism of the infant Prince Boris with the rites of the Greek Church. Nicholas II was his godfather.

¹ Dr. Rose, page 286.

1898. State visit of the Prince and Princess of Bulgaria to Peterhof. The officers who had kidnapped Prince Alexander were reinstated; Russian methods of training were introduced into the Bulgarian army.

(2) Peace with Turkey.

March, 1896. The Sultan, who had hitherto refused recognition, recognised Ferdinand as Prince of Bulgaria and Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia.

1897. Ferdinand remained neutral in the Graeco-Turkish War and received from the Sultan additional territory in Macedonia.

(3) Internal Progress.

Bulgaria made remarkable progress under Ferdinand who used for his adopted country the vast wealth of his mother, Princess Clementine of Orleans.

October 5th, 1908. Ferdinand proclaimed himself Czar of an independent Bulgaria.

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TURKEY

By the Treaty of Berlin Abdul Hamid was pledged to give his subjects religious toleration, to introduce necessary reforms into Armenia and to protect the Armenians against Kurds and Circassians. The Powers rejected the demand of Greece that Crete, Thessaly, Epirus and Macedonia should be ceded to her but invited the Sultan to make the rivers Slaminaria and Kalamas the northern frontier of Greece. The Sultan undertook to give some measure of local government to Macedonia, Albania and Epirus. The failure of the Sultan to carry out the wishes of the

Powers and to keep his promises greatly aggravated the bad feeling between Greece and Turkey, aroused the resentment of the Young Turks and added another element of discord to the Balkans.

I. Turkey and Crete.

The problem of Crete was difficult. Greece persisted in her claim to "The Great Greek Island." The hostility between the Greeks and Turks which affected the history of the Balkans led in Crete to bitter antagonism between the Christian and Mahommedan inhabitants. The jealousy of the Powers complicated the situation.

A. The Pact of Halepa, 1878.

The Congress of Berlin promised that the Organic Law of 1868, which had given Crete a measure of self-government, should be enforced, with any necessary modifications.

October 25th, 1878. The Pact of Halepa.

(1) Terms.

- a.** The Governor-General should hold office for five years and should be advised by an assessor of the opposite religion.
- b.** A General Assembly made up of forty-nine Christians and thirty-one Mahommedans should meet every year.
- c.** Cretans should have the preference for official posts.
- d.** Greek should be the official language.
- e.** Part of any surplus that might result from financial reorganisation should be devoted to the internal development of the island.
- f.** Paper money should be prohibited and the press should be free.

(2) The working of the Pact.

1878-1885. Under the wise rule of a Greek, Photiades Pasha, Crete enjoyed peace and prosperity.

The union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia in **1885** led the Cretans to demand a greater share in the government; the Sultan was compelled to reissue the Pact of Halepa which he had cancelled in **1889**; in **1895** forty Christian and twenty-five Mahommedans constituted the General Assembly.

B. The Insurrection of **1896**.

(1) Growing enmity between Greeks and Mahommedans.

The Mahommedans, incensed by the increasing influence of the Christians, offered violent opposition to Christian Governors. Christians resented the appointment of a Turk as Governor in succession to the Christian Karatheodori Pasha.

(2) The Insurrection.

May 24th, 1896. The insurrection started with a riot in Canea.

The Sultan promised to renew the Pact of Halepa, which had not been strictly enforced, and appointed another Christian Governor, George Berovic, Prince of Samos. But the Christians distrusted the Sultan's promises, which had further irritated the Mahommedans.

February 4th, 1897. The Mahommedans rose at Canea and burnt the Christian quarter. Civil war broke out.

(3) Greece intervenes.

February 10th, 1897. Owing to the pressure of public opinion in Greece, which advocated the union of Greece and Crete, Prince George was sent by the Greek government with a flotilla of torpedo boats to prevent the Turks from sending forces to Crete.

February 15th, 1897. A Greek force under General Vassos landed in Crete.

(4) The Powers.

a. Intervention.

February 15th, 1897. The Admirals of the Powers occupied Canea. They ordered the insurgents to cease fighting, bombarded the Greeks at Akontiri, who persisted in attacking the Turks, and blockaded the island on **March 20th, 1897.**

Greece refused to accept the suggestion of the Powers that Crete should be autonomous under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but was so weakened by the "Thirty Days' War" with Turkey¹ that she could offer no serious opposition.

b. Prince George, High Commissioner.

Germany and Austria withdrew from the European Concert, but Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy continued their efforts. Each occupied one town. General Vassos was forced to withdraw. The murder of the British Vice-Consul at Candia on **September 6th, 1898**, was followed by the compulsory withdrawal of all Turkish troops and officials.

November 26th, 1898. The four Powers invited Prince George of Greece to act as their High Commissioner for three, and later for eight, years.

December 21st, 1898. Prince George landed in Crete; the Powers withdrew their ships but left troops to keep order.

Although Crete nominally remained under the suzerainty of Turkey it was practically an independent Christian state.

¹ Page 201.

C. Crete annexed to Greece.

(1) Prince George in Crete.

a. Tranquillity.

April, 1899. A Constituent Assembly adopted a new Constitution, drafted by a young Cretan lawyer, Eleutherios Venizelos, which established a Council of five to advise the Prince, and created a Chamber of Deputies.

A Cretan flag, Cretan postage stamps and small coins were instituted.

A Cretan police force, under Italian officers, was formed.

The cost of administration was met by a contribution of £40,000 from each of the Powers concerned.

Many Mahomedans had emigrated and those who remained formed only one-ninth of the population in 1900. Prince George tried to conciliate these, and one of the five councillors was to be a Mahomedan.

b. Revolution, 1905.

Friction arose between Prince George and Venizelos. The Cretans had thought that the appointment of Prince George was a prelude to union with Greece; in 1904 they requested Prince George to urge the Powers to effect the union immediately. On the refusal of the Powers to accede to their request they rebelled.

March, 1905. The insurgents, led by Venizelos, formed a provisional National Assembly and demanded immediate union with Greece. The Powers put down the rising.

1906. Prince George resigned and was succeeded by Zaimis; the Powers sent an international military force to keep order.

(2) Annexation.

July, 1908. Zaimis proved efficient and, on receiving his assurance that he could maintain order and protect the Mahommedans, the Powers withdrew many of their troops.

1908. The Cretans, roused by the proclamation of Bulgarian independence,¹ the revolution at Constantinople² of the Young Turks, who protested against the separation of Crete from the Turkish Empire, and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, again demanded union with Greece, and set up an Administrative Government under Venizelos to rule in the name of the King of Greece.

The Powers did nothing to ensure the union of Crete and Greece but sent four warships to protect the Mahommedan inhabitants.

May 30th, 1913. After her defeat by the Balkan League³ Turkey agreed by the Treaty of London to renounce her claim to Crete.

August 10th, 1913. Following the defeat of Bulgaria⁴ in July, 1913, the Balkan Powers agreed by the Treaty of Bucharest that Crete should be assigned to Greece.

December 14th, 1913. Crete was formally annexed by King Constantine.

II. The Armenian Massacres.

A. General Conditions.

Armenia was merely an ill-defined geographical area, not a political state; the Armenians were subjects either of Russia, Turkey or Persia. They were an unwarlike race whose success in business had roused the jealousy of the Turks. The Armenian Church was not in communion with the Greek Church and therefore could not look for help from Russia, the champion of Greek Christians.

¹ Page 192.

² Page 204.

³ Page 228.

⁴ Page 232.

At the Congress of Berlin the Powers had compelled the Sultan to promise reformed government and personal protection to the Armenians. Great Britain had assumed special responsibility for the Armenians and sent military consuls to arrange for their protection against Russia.¹ But Russia was also bound by the Treaty of Berlin to protect the Armenians and was near enough to give them effective aid against their bitter enemies the Kurds.

The nationalist movement in the Balkans strengthened a similar movement in Armenia. The Powers had failed to compel the Sultan to introduce any reforms and, in 1880, a revolutionary committee was formed in Tiflis to secure national government for Armenia.

B. Abdul Hamid II.

Abdul Hamid strongly resented the weakening of the Turkish Empire which had resulted from the development of nationality in Roumania, Serbia and Bulgaria, and feared that the Armenians might emancipate themselves from Turkish rule. He was irritated by the forcible intervention of the Powers in Turkish affairs and by their attempts to secure reform for Armenia.

But he knew that jealousy between the Powers rendered united action difficult and that the Czar Alexander III strongly objected to the growth of nationality among the Armenians, which might not only encourage the Nihilists in Russia but set up on his southern border a new state which, like Bulgaria, might prove a check on the advance of Russia. The Russian Chancellor said, "We don't want an Armenian Bulgaria."

C. The Massacres, 1894-1895.

The Armenians renewed their revolutionary efforts. They resisted, sometimes with violence, the demands of Kurdish tax-farmers. The Sultan authorised the

¹ In 1880 Gladstone appointed political consuls instead of military.

Kurds, who were assisted by Turkish regular soldiers and fanatical Mahomedans who had left the Balkan States owing to the events of 1878, to suppress the Armenians.

August, 1894. The Kurds destroyed twenty-four villages and murdered about nine hundred Armenians in the district of Sassoun.

The massacres aroused great indignation and strong protests were made at meetings in Paris and London. On the demand of Great Britain, France and Russia a Commission was appointed which, in the early part of 1895, presented a scheme of reform to the Sultan.

But the efforts of Great Britain to secure the intervention of the Powers failed owing to the opposition of Russia; the massacres continued; an Armenian demonstration in Constantinople on September 30th, 1895, further infuriated the Sultan and by December fifty thousand Armenians had been murdered in addition to those who had died from exposure and disease.

August 27th-28th, 1896. Following the seizure by Armenians of the Ottoman Bank in Galata six thousand Armenians were slaughtered in a well-organised massacre in Constantinople.

D. Failure of the Powers.

Although Gladstone thundered against "the Great Assassin," Abdul Hamid II, and the French press called him "the Red Sultan," differences between the Powers enabled Abdul Hamid to do as he pleased with the Armenians.

Russia was opposed to the political development of Armenia; Austria did not intervene for fear that intervention might adversely affect her interests in the Balkans. William II, hoping to strengthen German influence in Constantinople and Asia Minor, supported the Sultan and sent him a present on his birthday. Great Britain and France did not venture to employ

force although both thought that it was desirable to compel Abdul Hamid to stop the massacres.

The Armenian massacres were a proof of the impotence of the Concert of Europe; "once more the Turk had exploited the jealousies of the European Powers with his accustomed skill and conspicuous success." The responsibility lay heaviest on Great Britain, for her promise to defend the Sultan's dominions in Asia Minor had been conditional on his undertaking to introduce the necessary reforms and protect his Christian subjects in Armenia. In 1897 a new crisis arose in Crete¹ and Europe had no time to think of Armenia.

III. The Graeco-Turkish War, 1897.

A. The Greeks and Turkey.

Turkey was the hereditary foe of Greece. The modern kingdom of Greece was founded as the result of the revolution that broke out in the Morea in 1821,² but the Greeks demanded that Crete, Macedonia, Thessaly and Epirus should be added to their kingdom, and were anxious to make use of any opportunity of recovering them.

Their ambition was checked by the moderating influence of Charilaos Trikoupis, who was Chief Minister, with some interruptions, from 1882 to 1895. Trikoupis saw the urgent need of improving the internal condition of the country by a policy of honest finance and rigid economy, and his wise measures attracted to Greece a considerable amount of foreign capital which facilitated the development of the mineral wealth of Greece.

(1) The Settlement of 1881.

May 24th, 1881. By a convention with Turkey Greece received Thessaly and the Arta district of Epirus. The Greeks were greatly disappointed that

¹ Page 194.

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 88.

their border was not extended to the rivers Salaminaria and Kalamas, as the Powers had suggested to the Sultan; they resented the continuance of Turkish supremacy over Epirus and Crete.

(2) The Crisis of 1886.

The movement to unite Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria caused great excitement in Greece. The victory of the Bulgarians over the Serbs at Slivnitsa in November, 1885, stimulated the demand for war with Turkey, and Delyannis, then Chief Minister, made active preparations for war.

May 8th, 1886. The Powers compelled the Greeks to keep peace by blockading part of their coast.

(3) The National Society.¹

1894. Foundation of the National Society to extend the authority of Greece in the Balkans and the islands and particularly in Macedonia, which Bulgaria wished to acquire, and in Crete. The Society demanded that the Powers should abstain from interfering in Greece and tried to strengthen the Greek army. The Society was welcomed by friends of Greece; one hundred members of the British Parliament sent a message of sympathy and thus led the Greeks to think that Great Britain would support them against Turkey.

Neither King George nor Abdul Hamid II wanted war; the former probably expected that if his subjects compelled him to fight the Powers would again intervene.

B. The "Thirty Days' War," April-May, 1897.

(1) The Declaration.

April 9th, 1897. Forces equipped by the National Society invaded Macedonia and attacked the Turks on the borders of Thessaly.

¹ *Ethniké Hetairia*.

April 17th, 1897. Turkey declared war on Greece.

The Greeks were enthusiastic but disorganised; they were far better adapted to irregular mountain warfare than to a regular campaign. The Turks, who make excellent soldiers, had been trained and organised by German officers under Baron von der Goltz.

Abdul Hamid made concessions to Serbia and Bulgaria which secured their neutrality; the Greeks offered Serbia and Bulgaria a share in Macedonia as the price of their help and the offer was refused; Austria warned the Balkan States to abstain from taking sides; Great Britain did not support the Greeks as they had expected. Greece had to face Turkey alone and utterly failed.

(2) Greece easily defeated.

a. The Fleet.

The Greek fleet, which was stronger than the Turkish, bombarded Previsa unsuccessfully and neglected to occupy the vulnerable Turkish islands.

b. Thessaly.

Edhem Pasha forced the Melouna Pass and secured Larissa. He gained another victory at Pharsalos.

c. Epirus.

By their victory at Pente Pegadia¹ the Turks saved Janina.

May 17th, 1897. Edhem Pasha routed the Greeks at Demokos. The Athenians, fearing a Turkish advance on Athens, showed great animosity towards King George.

¹ Five Wells.

C. Peace.**(1) The Armistice.**

The Powers, who did not wish again to provide a king for Greece, intervened and compelled the belligerents to accept an armistice on May 20th, 1897.

(2) The Peace of Constantinople.

December 4th, 1897. By a treaty of peace concluded at Constantinople Greece gave up to Turkey a small portion of Thessaly of considerable strategic importance, paid a heavy war indemnity and placed her finances under the control of a commission of the Powers.

D. General.

Greece, and particularly the King, was gravely discredited; the finances were already embarrassed and the addition of the war indemnity led to national bankruptcy. The success of the Turkish army strengthened the prestige of the Sultan, promoted the Pan-Islamic movement and increased the influence of Germany to whose officers the success was largely due. But Turkey did not bring Crete under its authority.

IV. Turkey and Germany.**A. British influence weakened.**

The traditional friendship between Turkey and Great Britain had been seriously impaired by the cession of Cyprus in 1878,¹ by the support given by Gladstone to the improvement of the Greek frontier in 1881, the occupation of Egypt in 1882 and the persistent, although unsuccessful, efforts made to compel the Sultan to carry out reforms in Armenia.

¹ Page 175.

B. Growing influence of Germany.

(1) Abdul Hamid.

Turkey turned to Germany for the support she could no longer expect from Great Britain, and the policy of Germany towards Turkey formed part of the *Weltpolitik* which she adopted after the fall of Bismarck.

The valuable service rendered to the Turkish army by von der Goltz, the establishment at Constantinople of a branch of the *Deutsche Bank*, the activity of German commercial travellers and the visit of William II to Constantinople in 1889, promoted friendship between the two countries.

The refusal of Germany to acquiesce in the blockade of Crete by the Powers in 1898, the support given by William II to the Sultan in regard to Armenia and the visit of the former to Constantinople in 1898¹ when Abdul Hamid had not a friend in Europe, greatly strengthened the friendship.

(2) The Young Turks.

The rebellion of the Young Turks in 1908 and the deposition of Abdul Hamid II in 1909 seemed likely to weaken the influence of Germany, but the friendship with Germany was soon revived by Enver Pasha and "for many a year Turkey was a useful and important link in the chain of our political relations."²

V. The Young Turks.

A. The Constitution of 1908.

(1) The aims of the Young Turks.

The Young Turks aimed at reforming Turkey on European lines, at establishing parliamentary government, assuring freedom of religion, and promoting education and trade. The Committee which directed the movement had been established at Geneva in 1891 and transferred to Salonika in 1906.

¹ Page 129.² Von Bülow.

(2) Great Britain and Russia.

The Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907¹ had alarmed the Turks. The visit of Edward VII to Nicholas II at Reval in June, 1908, seemed to suggest that Great Britain and Russia might intervene in Turkey and the fear of such intervention was one of the immediate causes of the rising of the Young Turks.

(3) The Proclamation of the Constitution of 1876.

July 23rd, 1908. The Committee, assured of the support of the third army corps which held Macedonia, proclaimed at Salonika the constitution which, under the influence of Midhat Pasha, Abdul Hamid had issued in 1876.²

July 24th, 1908. Abdul Hamid proclaimed the Constitution at Constantinople, summoned a Parliament and promised religious and political equality to all his subjects. The success of the Young Turks was welcomed as the latest triumph of Liberalism.

B. The Deposition of Abdul Hamid II, 1909.

But the innate conservatism of Mahomedans, discontent in the army, which had failed to obtain the advantages it expected from the revolution, the disappointment of the Christians who did not secure the reforms they anticipated, risings in Arabia and Anatolia and the division of the Young Turks into two sections, one advocating Liberal reform the other the union of the Turkish Empire, weakened the reforms and Abdul Hamid attempted, unsuccessfully, to stir up a counter-revolution.

April 24th, 1909. The army from Salonika seized Constantinople.

April 27th, 1909. The Turkish National Assembly deposed Abdul Hamid II and elected his younger brother as Sultan with the title of Mahommed V.

¹ Page 78.

² Page 163.

The deposition of Abdul Hamid was the work of the Unionist section of the Young Turks. These aimed at the "Turkification" of Macedonia, which the Powers had left to the administration of the Young Turks, and Asia Minor; the suppression of Christianity in the dominions of the Sultan whose power was to be strengthened and centralised. But the Young Turks were not strong enough to carry out their reactionary programme and their weakness was one of the conditions that enabled—

- (1) Germany to regain the influence at Constantinople that had been impaired by the original Young Turk movement.
- (2) October 5th, 1908. Ferdinand to renounce the suzerainty of the Sultan and declare himself Czar of Bulgaria.
- (3) October 6th, 1908. Austria to proclaim the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹
- (4) 1908. The Cretans to rise against Turkey.²
- (5) 1911-1912. Italy to conquer Tripoli.³

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The Eastern Question (Marriott), Clarendon Press, pp. 375-385, 395-407, 433-436.

THE PROBLEM OF MACEDONIA

I. Causes of Discontent.

A. Difference of Race.

"Macedonia is a land of conflicting races and overlapping claims." The population was an "ethnographic museum." It included Greeks, Turks, Albanians, Serbians, Bulgarians, Kutzo-Vlachs and Jews who lived side by side.

¹ Page 217.

² Page 197

³ Page 319.

(1) Greeks.

The Greeks remembered that Macedonia was the home of Alexander the Great, that Byzantine Emperors had ruled over Macedonia, that missionaries of the Greek Church had civilised the country and that the spirit of the country was essentially Greek. The acquisition of Macedonia by Greece was an essential condition of the restoration of the old Byzantine Empire which the Greeks regarded as the height of their political ambition.

The Greeks were fewer than the Slavs ; they were most numerous on the coast and in the towns.

(2) Turks.

1430. Murad II conquered Macedonia and from that time Macedonia had been under the usual Turkish misgovernment. The Turks formed a small minority of the population.

(3) Serbians.

Macedonia had once formed part of the empire of Stephen Dushan, who had been crowned at Uskub, and the Serbians constituted the majority of the inhabitants of the North-West of Macedonia. Serbia had failed to secure a port on the Adriatic and was anxious to gain an outlet on the Aegean.

(4) Bulgarians.

Many of the inhabitants of Macedonia were Bulgarians ; owing to active Bulgarian propaganda Macedonia " had been to a very large extent Bulgarianised in its sympathies." At one time Macedonia had been ruled by Bulgarian Emperors and, as the Turks commanded the Dardanelles, Bulgaria was anxious to secure a good commercial harbour on the Aegean.

(5) Kutzo-Vlachs.

The Kutzo-Vlachs, originally a Thracian race, formed a small element in Macedonia and were

scattered about the country. Their claim to a share in Macedonia was supported by the Roumanians who hoped to use it as a means of securing territorial extension for Roumania.

(6) Albanians.

The Albanians based their claim to their descent from the Illyrians. They remembered that from **1809** to **1814** "The Illyrian Provinces" formed a united country under the authority of Napoleon I, and that those five years had been peaceful and prosperous.

(7) Jews.

Jews were found in the larger towns and were numerous in Salonika.

B. Differences of Religion.

Religious differences had always existed between Christians and Mahomedans, Jews and Gentiles.

1870. The establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, which provided that outside Bulgaria a district could be transferred from the Greek Patriarchate to the Bulgarian Exarchate, greatly aggravated religious differences in Macedonia. Greeks and Bulgarians tried to extend the authority of their respective churches; Serbia demanded the establishment of a Serbian Patriarchate; Roumania advocated the formation of a separate Roumanian Church.

II. Macedonia and the Powers.

Russia and Austria had a special interest in Macedonia. The Treaty of Berlin not only affronted Russia by taking Macedonia from Bulgaria but allowed Austria to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina; it made the Balkan States look to Macedonia for compensation for the territory they had failed to acquire at the Congress of

Berlin.¹ Austria welcomed the demand of Serbia for Northern Macedonia which diverted the attention of Serbia from Bosnia, and the claims of the Kutzo-Vlachs which lessened the possibility of Roumanian propaganda in Transylvania.

1897. A treaty between Austria and Russia by which both agreed to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans relaxed for a time the tension in Macedonia.

Turkey found in the jealousy of the Powers and the racial and religious differences in Macedonia an excellent opportunity of following her usual policy of playing off her opponents one against another, and by this means maintained her suzerainty in Macedonia without effecting any of the reforms which had been promised in the Treaty of Berlin.

III. Failure of the Powers.

A. Bulgarian Intervention.

The gross misgovernment of Macedonia and the oppression of the people by Turkish officials aroused strong feeling in Bulgaria which contained many influential Macedonian inhabitants.

1899. A Macedonian Committee, formed at Sofia, urged the Powers to establish an autonomous Macedonia under a Bulgarian Governor-General. The Powers did not carry out the suggestion of the Committee.

B. Insurrection.

1901-1903. Partly owing to secret support from Bulgaria, Macedonia was in a state of insurrection.

1901. Brigands, instigated by the Macedonian Committee, captured Miss Stone, an American missionary. This action compelled Europe to understand that there really was a Macedonian question; Miss Stone's ransom of £16,000 was spent on arms and bombs.

C. The Plans of the Powers.**(1) Austria and Russia, 1903.**

February, 1903. Austria and Russia proposed that Salonika, Monastir and Kossovo should be reorganised under an Inspector-General; that a police force composed of Mahommedans and Christians with foreign officers should be established.

The Sultan accepted the scheme, partly because the Czar had compelled the Bulgarians to dissolve the Macedonian Committee, but disorder continued.

The Albanians of Kossovo rose and shot a Russian consul.

The Bulgarians blew up the Ottoman Bank at Salonika, attacked the Greeks and destroyed railway bridges.

(2) The Mürsteg Programme.

October, 1903. Russia and Austria by the Mürsteg Programme recommended that Russian and Austrian Civil Agents should assist the Inspector-General, Hilmi Pasha; that a foreign general should reorganise the police force and that he should be assisted by foreign officers acting in different districts; that reforms, in which the Christians were to participate, should be carried out.

Germany, posing as the friend of Turkey, refused to support the proposals. The other Powers sent officers to control the five districts into which Macedonia was divided; an Italian general took command of the police force.

But the Civil Agents lacked administrative powers, the police failed to repress disorder which was aggravated by the formation of bands of Greek irregulars to oppose Bulgarian robbers, and by the Sultan's action in recognising the Kutzo-Vlachs as a separate nationality.

(3) Financial Commission, 1905.

December, 1905. On the proposal of Great Britain a Financial Commission for Macedonia was appointed. An international fleet occupied Mitylene and compelled the Sultan to accept the Commission.

(4) General.

The efforts of the Powers led to some improvement in financial organisation and minor matters but they failed to solve the fundamental differences of race and religion which distracted Macedonia; difficulties arising out of the International control led to quarrels between the Great Powers.

1909. The Powers believed that the "Young Turks" were Liberals and gladly left the settlement of Macedonia in their hands. The Christians soon found that under the policy of "Turkification" which the Young Turks adopted, their position was as bad as it had been under the rule of Abdul Hamid.

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THE ANNEXATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, 1908

I. *Drang nach Osten.*

After her defeat by Prussia in 1866 Austria, finding that she could no longer extend her territory to the North, tried to gain territory to the South-East and become an Eastern Power.

A. Opposing interests of Austria and Serbia.**(1) Great Britain, Russia and Austria.****a. Great Britain.**

The interests of Great Britain in the Near East had been safeguarded by the acquisition of Egypt, Cyprus and the financial control of the Suez Canal.

b. Russia.

Russia, although interested in the Pan-Slav movement and the position of Greek Christians, was mainly concerned to ensure the free navigation of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus and was anxious to secure permission for her war vessels to pass through the Straits.

c. Austria.

Austria vitally needed free access to the sea, either to the Adriatic through Trieste, Pola, Fiume and Dalmatia, or to the Aegean through Salonika. The position of Austria on the Adriatic might be threatened by Italy, which held Brindisi and Otranto, and by Montenegro which had obtained a strip of coast line at the Congress of Berlin. The command of the route to Salonika therefore became of supreme importance and brought Austria into sharp opposition to the policy of Serbia.

(2) Serbia.

Serbia was the leader of the Yugo-Slav movement which aimed at uniting into a new Slav Empire Serbia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia and part of Istria. The realisation of this object would injure Austria in two ways.

a. Austrian Slavs.

It would lead to a demand for amalgamation with the new Empire on the part of the 7,000,000 Yugo-Slavs who were subject to Austria. The 19,000,000 other Slav subjects of Austria would be adversely affected, and the result might be the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian state in which the Slavs were more than twice as numerous as the Magyars and Germans combined.

To avert such possible disruption the Archduke Ferdinand, who had married a Slav, the Countess Chotek, urged that the Dualism, which had been established by the *Ausgleich*¹ of 1867, should be replaced by Trialism which involved the formal recognition of the Slavs as a third constituent of the Austrian Empire. But the supporters of Trialism were not unanimous as to the policy to be pursued towards the Yugo-Slavs. Some wished to include in the Trialistic scheme only the Slavs who were already subject to Austria. Others wished to add Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia to Austria and thus—

- (i) To strengthen the influence of Austria on the Adriatic.
- (ii) To secure the valley of the Morava through which Salonika could be easily secured.

b. The road to Salonika.

The establishment of Yugo-Slavia as an independent state would set up a barrier to the advance of Austria to the Aegean. For the success of *Drang nach Osten* the conquest of Serbia was becoming essential.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 368.

II. Serbia, 1882-1903.**A. Milan, 1882-1889.**

1882. Prince Milan became King of Serbia. He strongly favoured Austria but Queen Nathalie, a Russian by birth, advocated Pan-Slavism. Milan's private life caused grave scandal and serious dissensions in the Serbian court and the failure of the war with Bulgaria in **1885** impaired the prestige of the country.

1888. Milan granted a more liberal Constitution which led to no improvement as the Serbians were not able to govern themselves.

March 6th, 1889. Milan abdicated, his son Alexander became king at the age of thirteen.

B. Alexander, 1889-1903.

April 13th, 1893. Alexander proclaimed himself of age, arrested the Regents, dissolved the *Skupschtina* and, on **May 21st**, annulled the Constitution of **1888**.

Alexander attacked the Liberals and strongly resisted the influence of Russia. He greatly weakened his position by marrying the widow of an engineer, Draga Maschin, whose reputation was not good. The failure of an heir and the suspicion that Queen Draga was anxious that her brother should succeed Alexander led to increased discontent.

1901. Alexander tried to strengthen his position by issuing a new Constitution and conciliating the Liberals but the failure of this effort and the growing strength of the Karageorgevitch party led him in **April, 1903**, to suspend the Constitution and abolish the ballot.

June 10th, 1903. Murder of Alexander, Draga and her two brothers, the Prime Minister and the Minister for War by a number of officers.

June 15th, 1903. Peter Karageorgevitch, the son-in-law of the Prince of Montenegro and the son of Prince Alexander Karageorgevitch, who was deposed in **1859**, was elected king.

C. Peter Karageorgevitch, 1903.

In spite of the conditions of his accession the substitution of Peter for Alexander strengthened Serbia. His early years were difficult as he was not strong enough to control the regicides. But he soon gained the recognition of Russia and Austria and, in 1906, on the dismissal of the regicides, of Great Britain.

Serbia now, like Montenegro, showed friendship towards Russia and became the centre of the Yugo-Slav movement. The growing bitterness between Serbia and Austria was increased by the attempt of Austria to check the export of pigs from Serbia which led to the "Pig War" of 1905-1906.

III. The Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1908.

A. General Conditions.

(1) Turkey.

Turkey, the nominal owner of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was weakened by the revolution of the Young Turks.¹

(2) Russia.

a. The Agreement of Austria and Russia.

By the agreement of 1897 Austria had agreed with Russia to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans, and the Mürsteg Programme had been drawn up by both Powers to attain that object.

b. Russia had been weakened.

But Russia had been generally weakened by the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905,² and although the *Triple Entente* of 1907 had secured for her the friendship of France and Great Britain, and although Edward VII visited

¹ Page 205.² Page 275.

the Czar in June, 1908, neither of these Powers would favour hostilities against Austria, for the former was gravely concerned with the problem of the religious houses,¹ the weak state of the army and navy and difficulties in Morocco, and the latter with industrial unrest and the disturbances of the Suffragettes.

c. Isvolsky's futile efforts.

Isvolsky now entered upon some obscure negotiations with Aehrenthal and offered to recognise the annexation by Austria of Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Sandjak of Novi Bazar if Austria would obtain for Russia the right of sending her warships through the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. He demanded that a European Conference should be called to consider the question before Austria took definite action.

(3) Germany.

Austria could rely upon the support of Germany.

B. Aehrenthal.

Aehrenthal, "the Austrian Bismarck," who became Foreign Minister in 1906, determined to carry on the *Drang nach Osten* to which Serbia, as the leader of the Yugo-Slav movement and the friend of Russia, was the chief barrier.

The Archduke Ferdinand favoured this policy, which would strengthen the Slav element in the Austrian Empire as against the Germans and Magyars.

January, 1908. Aehrenthal obtained from the Sultan permission to make a railway through the Sandjak of Novi Bazar which would link up Vienna and Salonika and threaten the flank of Great Britain and France in the Eastern Mediterranean.

¹ Page 37.

October 6th, 1908. The Austrian Emperor proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria.

C. Criticism.

(1) A grave breach of International Law.

The annexation was a breach of an undertaking given by all the Powers in 1871 that no Power would break treaties without the agreement of other signatory Powers ; it was a breach of the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, by which all the Powers had come to an agreement as to the settlement of the Balkans.

Sir Edward Grey and Isvolsky, who, in view of his negotiations with Aehrenthal, naturally resented the abrupt action of Austria, demanded that the whole question should be remitted to a Conference of the Powers. But they failed to secure a Conference.

(2) The danger of war.

a. Danger of war.

The annexation was a challenge to Pan-Slavism and aroused the bitterest resentment in Serbia whose progress westward was stopped and whose plans for a Yugo-Slav state were frustrated.

Russia objected to the breach of the agreement of 1897 and the Mürsteg Programme of 1903 and, in order to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans, made an agreement with Italy, who, although a member of the Triple Alliance, protested against the increase of Austrian influence in the Adriatic. Isvolsky carried on active negotiations with Great Britain and France ; urged Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro to unite against Austria ; suggested a union against Austria with the Young Turks, who bitterly resented the loss of Turkish territory. In February, 1909, a European War seemed inevitable.

6. German intervention.

But it was averted mainly owing to the declaration of William II that if war broke out Germany would fight on behalf of Austria as "a knight in shining armour." Russia immediately gave way and agreed to the annexation; Great Britain and France followed her example.

(3) The Settlement.

a. Serbia.

Serbia persisted in a demand for war with Austria and increased her army, but the surrender of Russia made war impossible and led the Crown Prince on March 27th, 1909, to resign his right to the succession.

March 31st, 1909. By the advice of Russia and Great Britain Serbia accepted the annexation, promised to live on good terms with Austria and to reduce her army.

b. Turkey.

Austria gave up to Turkey the Sandjak of Novi Bazar and paid £2,200,000 as compensation for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

c. Bulgaria.

Bulgaria paid £5,000,000 to Turkey as compensation for the loss of tribute. By giving Bulgaria £1,720,000 for this purpose Russia paved the way for the Russo-Bulgarian Treaty of December, 1909.

(4) A blow to the *Triple Entente*.

The crisis had shown the weakness of the *Triple Entente* and had proved a serious rebuff to Russia, which had signally failed to maintain the Slav cause or to check the advance of Austria.

(5) A triumph for the Central Monarchies.

Austria, supported by Germany, had imposed her will upon Europe and the Austrian Empire had gained prestige; the union of Austria and Germany had been greatly strengthened.

(6) Led to the Great War.

But by aggravating the enmity between the Central Powers and the *Triple Entente* the annexation had made the outbreak of a European War inevitable. Such bitter feeling had been aroused, especially in Russia and Serbia, that if another serious difficulty arose it would be impossible again "to paper over the cracks." "The Great War of 1914 was implicit in the events of 1908."

References :

The Eastern Question (Marriott), Clarendon Press, chap. xv.
Europe and Beyond (Marriott), Methuen, chap. xi.
Macedonia (Georgevitch), Allen and Unwin.

THE BALKAN LEAGUE, 1912**I. General Conditions.****A. Russia.**

Russia was anxious to recover the prestige she had lost in 1908, to assert her position as champion of the Slavs and to secure the opening of the Straits. After 1908 Russia's great aim was the formation of a league of Balkan States.

(1) Bulgaria.

Stambouloff had depended upon Germany and Austria in his attempt to break Russian influence in Bulgaria. Ferdinand realised that the national

demand for the formation of a Greater Bulgaria by the addition of Macedonian territory could be realised only with the help of Russia which had rendered valuable financial assistance to Bulgaria in 1909.

December, 1909. Russia and Bulgaria made a secret treaty of alliance, directed really against Germany and Austria.

(2) The Balkan States.

Russia tried to reconcile the Balkan States and particularly Serbia and Bulgaria. A close union of these states, with the cordial approval of Russia, would limit or even end the growing influence of Germany and Austria in the Balkans and would check the power of Turkey. It is certain that Sazonoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, wished to secure the direction of Balkan politics; it is highly probable that he did not wish to stir up a war with Turkey. But a Balkan League based mainly on common hatred of Turkey was sure to lead to war.

The task of reconciling Serbia and Bulgaria was difficult. Bitter memories remained of the war of 1885; Bulgaria had sympathised with Austria in 1908. Both states, and Greece, desired to bring all their nationals in the Balkans under their direct rule. Macedonia was the great stumbling-block; Bulgaria advocated the establishment of autonomy in Macedonia, Greece and Serbia favoured the partition of the country.

(3) Great Britain and France.

In spite of the *Triple Entente* of 1907 difficulties had arisen which might weaken the co-operation of Great Britain and Russia. France had little interest in the Balkans.

Great Britain, France (and Germany) did their utmost to avert war and to localise it when it had broken out.

(4) The Young Turks.

1911. The Young Turks refused the request of Russia that the Dardanelles should be opened to Russian warships. Their action tended to drive Turkey into closer alliance with the Central Powers; it made Russia more anxious that the power of Turkey should be weakened by a Balkan League.

B. Turkey.

(1) The Young Turks.

The Young Turks, continuing the old policy of the Sultan, tried to secure the "Turkification" of Macedonia by massacring the Christian inhabitants and in fifteen years reduced the Bulgarian population of Salonika by twenty-five per cent. They were determined to maintain Turkish authority in Crete. They refused to join up the Bulgarian and Macedonian or the Greek and Macedonian railway systems and thus hampered the commerce of Bulgaria and Greece.

The policy of the Young Turks, and particularly their persecution of the Macedonian Christians, formed the main cause of the Balkan League. Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, realising that Russia would not intervene, resolved to settle the matter themselves.

(2) Italy.

Italy strongly objected to the extension of Austrian influence in the Adriatic which had weakened her devotion to the Triple Alliance.

1911-1912. The Turco-Italian War¹ :—

- (i) Further weakened the Triple Alliance.
- (ii) Compelled Turkey to rely more upon Germany and Austria.
- (iii) Gave the Balkan League a favourable opportunity for attacking Turkey; but also—

¹ Page 320.

- (iv) Roused the fighting spirit of the Young Turks and made them still more reluctant to change their policy.

C. Serbia.

Serbia now realised that Austria was a more dangerous foe than Turkey. In spite of the agreement of 1909 Serbia had not only supported the Yugo-Slav movement in the Balkans but had striven to rouse the Austrian Slavs to rise against Austria. She welcomed a union which would check the south-eastward extension of Austrian influence, and which might enable her to regain Old Serbia and secure an outlet on the Aegean or Adriatic.

II. Improving relations between the Balkan States, 1910-1912.

With the strong approval of Russia more friendly relations were established between the Balkan States.

1910. The Czar Ferdinand and the Crown Princes of Serbia and Greece attended the Jubilee of King Nicholas of Montenegro.

1911. Three hundred Bulgarian students visited Athens.

1911. Venizelos advocated an alliance between Greece and Bulgaria as a means of safety for themselves and of protection for Macedonian Christians.

1911. Common protest of the Bulgarian Exarch and the Greek Patriarch against the oppression of Christian subjects of Turkey.

October, 1911. Gueshoff, the Bulgarian Premier, who claimed to be the architect of the Balkan League, had a most important meeting with Milanovanitch, the Serbian Premier.

February, 1912. The Balkan Crown Princes attended the coming of age of Prince Boris of Bulgaria.

III. The Balkan League, 1912.

A. The Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty, March, 1912.

March 13th, 1912. Serbia and Bulgaria made a treaty for eight years which provided :—

(1) Common action.

The two States should combine to resist attacks made on either by a Great Power or Turkey.

(2) Macedonia.

Secret articles provided that, with the approval of Russia, offensive operations should be undertaken against Turkey if a favourable opportunity occurred, and that if Turkey was defeated Macedonia should be divided.

a. Serbia was to have Old Serbia and the Sandjak ¹ of Novi Bazar.

b. Bulgaria was to receive that part of Macedonia which lay east of the Struma and the Rhodope Mountains.

c. The rest of Macedonia was to be autonomous. If this arrangement proved impossible, Serbia was to receive more of Northern Macedonia, Bulgaria the district round Ochrida; the settlement of the remainder was to be left to the Czar of Russia.

(3) Military Convention.

May, 1912. A military convention settled the contingents to be supplied by each country.

(4) Omissions.

The treaty made no arrangements as to Adrianople.

¹ i.e. Funnel.

The military convention showed that while the Bulgarians favoured the Maritza Valley, the Serbians favoured the Vardar Valley as the main theatre of war.

B. The Graeco-Bulgarian Treaty, May, 1912.

(1) Terms.

May 29th, 1912. Greece and Bulgaria concluded a treaty which made similar provision for common action against Turkey but contained no reference to Macedonia.

(2) Military Convention.

September, 1912. An important military convention provided that Bulgaria should supply 300,000 men for service in the districts of Kossovo, Monastir and Salonika ; that the Greek fleet should control the Aegæan and cut off communication between Turkey and Asia Minor ; that the Greek army should number at least 120,000 men.

C. Montenegro.

August, 1912. Montenegro joined the League without a formal treaty.

D. General.

Russia " had now established her predominant influence over all the Slav states of the Balkans. . . . Sazonoff had not merely encouraged the ambitions of Russia's client states, but had sanctioned an aggressive league which was preparing for a war against Turkey and if necessary against Austria." ¹ Sazonoff apparently failed at first to see that the League was bound to lead to war. When war seemed imminent he tried to induce the Powers to put pressure on the prospective belligerents.

¹ Lodge and Horne, *A History of Modern Europe* (Murray), page 472.

In view of the bitter hostility which had so long prevailed in the Balkans the League may be regarded as a miracle of diplomacy. But the failure to settle the problem of Adrianople in March and Macedonia in May was destined to lead soon to serious trouble.

The League was a serious blow to Germany, Austria and Turkey and strengthened the sympathy between these three countries.

IV. Declaration of War.

A. Some Final Causes.

(1) Further massacres.

Resentment at Sofia was aggravated by further massacres of Bulgarians at Kotchana and Berana.

August 14th, 1912. A great demonstration at Sofia protested against the recent massacres and demanded either immediate autonomy for Macedonia or war with Turkey.

(2) Albania.

Austria, Greece, Italy and Serbia were anxious to obtain Albania because of its position on the Adriatic. It nominally belonged to Turkey which had failed to make her authority effective over the wild mountaineers who formed its population. The Albanians rebelled against the Young Turks in the spring of 1912, were supported by mutinous Turkish soldiers, gained unexpected success and demanded that Monastir and Uskub should be ceded to Albania.

The prospect of losing portions of Macedonia to which they attached great sentimental importance, and which had been assigned to Serbia in the recent treaty, roused the Serbians.

Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro decided to go to war with Turkey in October and started mobilising their troops.

B. The Powers.

Sazonoff appealed to the Powers to avert war.

The Balkan States asked the Powers to insist on immediate and radical reform in Macedonia. Instead of putting pressure on Turkey the Powers sent, on October 7th, an ultimatum to Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Serbia forbidding them to fight, insisting on the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Balkans, and promising that the reforms outlined in the Treaty of Berlin should be carried out.

C. War.

October 8th, 1912. Montenegro, without consulting her allies, declared war on Turkey and King Nicholas fired the first shot.

October 13th, 1912. Turkey rejected the demand of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece for "radical reforms" in Macedonia; Turkey made an armistice with Italy.

October 18th, 1912. Turkey declared war on Bulgaria and Serbia; Greece declared war on Turkey.

For References, see p. 237.

THE WAR OF THE BALKAN LEAGUE, OCTOBER-DECEMBER 1912

I. Theatres of War.**A. Thrace.**

General Savoff commanded the Bulgarians who operated in Thrace and struck at Constantinople.

It is important to note that Bulgaria's great object was to liberate Macedonia and secure Salonika and that operations in Thrace would not directly conduce to these ends.

October, 1912. The Bulgarians advanced on Adrianople but failed to capture it.

October 22nd-24th, 1912. Bulgarian victory at Kirk Kilisse.

October 29th-November 1st, 1912. The Bulgarians routed the Turks at Lule Burgas. The Turks fell back on the Tchataldja Lines only thirty kilometres from Constantinople. Fatigue and muddy roads hindered the Bulgarian advance and gave the Turks time to strengthen their position and secure reinforcements.

November 19th, 1912. Orders from Sofia stopped operations against the Tchataldja Lines.

B. The Centre.

The Greeks led by Prince Constantine operated between the Aegean and the Rhodope Mountains. Their main objective was Salonika and the Turks offered comparatively little opposition to their progress, possibly owing to their defeat by the Serbians at Kumanovo, and also because they hoped that if the Greeks secured Salonika difficulties would arise between Greece and Bulgaria.

November 6th, 1912. The Greeks occupied Salonika and reluctantly allowed the Bulgarians, who arrived soon after, to enter the city. King George transferred his court to Salonika and the Greeks took over the administration.

November 28th, 1912. The Greeks commenced the siege of Janina in Epirus.

C. The West.

(1) The Serbians.

The Serbians, under the Crown Prince, assisted by some Montenegrin troops, fought between the River Vardar and the Adriatic. Their main object was the recovery of Old Serbia.

October, **1912**. The Serbians secured the Sandjak of Novi Bazar.

October 24th, **1912**. The Serbians routed the Turks at Kumanovo and, on October 26th, **1912**, entered Uskub.

November 17th-20th, **1912**. The Serbians routed the Turks at Monastir and secured Western Macedonia.

November 28th, **1912**. With the help of the Montenegrins the Serbians took Durazzo.

(2) The Montenegrins.

The Montenegrins unsuccessfully attacked Skutari and Mount Tarabosh in Albania.

D. The Greek Fleet.

The Greek fleet rendered excellent service. They soon took the Aegean Islands (Thasos, Imbros, Samothrace, Mitylene and Scio); they carried Serbian reinforcements to the Montenegrins at Skutari.

December 3rd, **1912**. The Greeks shelled Valona on the Adriatic.

II. The Armistice.

By December 1st, **1912**, the Turks held only the three besieged fortresses of Skutari, Janina and Adrianople; Constantinople and the territory up to the Tchataldja Lines.

A. The Powers.

The Powers wished to stop the war.

(1) Germany.

William II, the friend of the Young Turks, desired to avert the complete destruction of the Turkish Empire and hoped that if peace was made the

victors would quarrel over the distribution of the spoils.

(2) Austria.

Austria objected to the occupation of Salonika by the Greeks, was alarmed at the growing power of Serbia, feared that the success of the Serbians might lead to a Slav rising in Austria and resented the attempt of Serbia, and possibly Greece, to secure territory on the Adriatic. Austria massed troops on the Serbian frontier and seemed likely to attack the Serbians and Montenegrins in Albania.

(3) Italy.

Italy strongly objected to the alteration of the *status quo* on the Adriatic.

(4) Russia.

Russia rejoiced at the success of the Balkan Slavs, to which her previous policy had contributed, and began to make military preparations.

(5) Great Britain and France.

Public opinion in Great Britain favoured the Balkan States but British statesmen strove to secure peace. France checked the warlike aims of Russia, and Germany and Italy induced Austria to abstain from war.

B. The Armistice.

December 3rd, 1912. Conclusion of an armistice which left Turkey in possession of Skutari, Janina, Adrianople and Constantinople, but did not extend to the Greek fleet which continued to blockade the coast of Epirus.

III. Negotiations.

A conference of representatives of the belligerents and the Powers met at St. James' Palace. The chief difficulties arose from the demand of the Balkan States for the surrender of Adrianople and of Roumania for compensation for any increase of her neighbours' territory.

January 22nd, 1913. Turkey agreed that a new frontier line should be drawn from Midia on the Black Sea to Enos on the Aegean. This involved the surrender of Adrianople.

January 23rd, 1913. The Young Turks, led by Enver Bey, shot the Commander-in-Chief Nazim Pasha, overthrew the Cabinet which had accepted the terms of the St. James' Conference and refused to surrender Adrianople.

January 29th, 1913. The Balkan States denounced the armistice and renewed the war.

IV. Renewal of the War.

The three besieged fortresses soon fell.

March 6th, 1913. Prince Constantine of Greece took Janina.

[March 6th, 1913. Serious fight between Greeks and Bulgarians near Salonika.

March, 18th, 1913. Assassination of King George at Salonika.]

March 26th, 1913. The Bulgarians took Adrianople with the assistance of the Serbians, who sent help on condition that the arrangement regarding Central Macedonia should be reconsidered.

April 24th, 1913. Skutari surrendered to the Montenegrins. But Austria, Italy and Russia insisted on the establishment of an autonomous state of Albania and the exclusion of Serbia from the Adriatic.

May 4th, 1913. The Montenegrins were compelled to surrender Skutari to the Powers who had blockaded the coast of Montenegro.

V. The Treaty of London, 1913.

Negotiations were resumed at St. James' Palace.

May 30th, 1913. By the Treaty of London Turkey was compelled to cede to the Balkan States as a whole, all land north of the Enos-Midia line, and to surrender Crete to Greece. Serbia and Montenegro, owing to the influence of Italy and Austria, were compelled to evacuate Albania. The Powers determined to settle later the allocation of the Aegean Isles which Greece had conquered from Turkey.

The attempt to establish an autonomous Albania and the failure of the Powers to divide the spoils soon led to a renewal of war.

For References, see p. 237.

THE BALKAN WAR OF PARTITION, 1913

I. Causes.

The failure of the Treaty of London was assured.

A. Bulgaria.

Bulgaria held Thrace, which she did not particularly want; she wanted Salonika, which the Greeks held, to ensure easy access to the Aegean; she also wanted Central Macedonia which Serbia was determined to retain as compensation for her failure to secure Albania.

B. Serbia.

Serbia demanded, as compensation for the loss of Albania, access to the Aegean: "Bulgaria is washed by two seas and grudges Serbia a single port."

Serbia also demanded the amendment of the treaty she had made with Bulgaria in March, 1912,¹ to allow of

¹ Page 223.

compensation for Albania. Bulgaria refused. Russia had induced her to stop her advance on Constantinople by the promise that the treaty of 1912 should stand; she was irritated when Russia at the end of May, 1913, suggested that she should give up all Serbia demanded in Macedonia.

C. Roumania.

May 7th, 1913. Bulgaria ceded to Roumania Silistria and part of the Dobrudja.

June 1st, 1913. Greece and Serbia made an alliance against Bulgaria and secured the promise of help from Roumania if war broke out.

June 8th, 1913. The Czar Nicholas offered arbitration. Serbia accepted the offer; Bulgaria practically declined it.

II. The War.

June 29th, 1913. The Bulgarians suddenly attacked the Serbians; the Serbians and Greeks utterly routed the Bulgarians in six weeks.

July 10th, 1913. Roumania declared war, occupied Silistria and threatened Sofia.

July 12th, 1913. Turkey declared war on Bulgaria.

July 20th, 1913. Turkey recaptured Adrianople.

August 10th, 1913. The Bulgarians were compelled to agree to the Treaty of Bucharest.

III. The Treaties of 1913.

A. The Treaty of Bucharest, August, 1913.

August 10th, 1913. Bulgaria made the Treaty of Bucharest with Serbia, Greece and Roumania.

(1) Terms.

For the first time in their history the Balkan States met to settle their own quarrels. Bulgaria received little mercy from her conquerors.

a. Serbia.

Serbia gained Central Macedonia, which included the essentially Bulgarian areas of Kossovo and Monastir; Northern Macedonia; the eastern portion of Novi Bazar.

b. Greece.

Greece gained Epirus, including Janina, Southern Macedonia, Salonika and the coast around Kavalla. Greece secured more new territory than any other Balkan state and some of her new acquisitions were of great strategical and commercial importance.

c. Roumania.

Roumania gained much territory in the Dobrudja with the important fortress of Silistria. She took the place of Bulgaria as the greatest Balkan state and aspired to create a Greater Roumania.

d. Bulgaria.

Bulgaria kept a portion of Eastern Macedonia and could obtain access to the Aegean only through the poor port of Dedeagatch. Venizelos' statesmanlike suggestion that, to conciliate Bulgaria, Greece should give her the excellent harbour of Kavalla was overruled by King Constantine and the Greek generals.

e. Montenegro.

Montenegro received the western half of Novi Bazar and some Serbian territory adjoining Albania.

(2) Criticism.

The terms were incomplete and unsatisfactory. The treaty failed to make a permanent solution of the

Balkan question. National feeling was disregarded ; men of one race were placed under the authority of another which they despised ; Bulgarians found themselves subjects to Serbia, Roumania and Greece ; Greeks to Bulgaria ; Albanians to Greece.

a. Serbia.

Serbia failed to secure the access to the sea that was essential for her commercial development.

b. Montenegro.

Montenegro bitterly resented the refusal of the Powers to allow her to keep Skutari.

c. Greece.

The opposition of Italy prevented Greece from securing part of Southern Albania which she claimed.

d. Roumania.

Roumania, in spite of her increase of territory, was disappointed that many Roumanian inhabitants of Transylvania and Bessarabia remained under Austrian rule.

B. The Treaty of Constantinople, September, 1913.

September 29th, 1913. By the Treaty of Constantinople Bulgaria, who was too weak to resist, was compelled to agree to an alteration of the Enos-Midia line which restored Adrianople to Turkey.

"The quarrel between the allies put the Ottoman Empire on its feet again."

C. The Convention of Athens, November, 1913.

November 11th, 1913. By the Convention of Athens Turkey and Greece agreed that the former should keep Imbros and Tenedos which commanded the entrance to the Dardanelles, and that all the other Aegean Islands

should be ceded to Greece except the Sporades, which were to be retained by Italy.

IV. The Powers and the Settlement.

The Concert of the European Powers had been maintained during the Balkan War in spite of serious differences between the members. It had intervened successfully in the settlement of the Adriatic coast; the Convention of Athens followed its recommendations. But on the whole it had proved ineffective; Turkey kept Adrianople in spite of the Powers; except in regard to Albania, Serbia, Roumania and Greece ignored the Powers, who feared that any attempt to enforce their wishes would lead to war between the Central Powers and Russia, who would be supported by France and possibly by Great Britain.

A. The Central Powers.

(1) A check to *Drang nach Osten*.

The settlement interposed a Slav barrier between the Central Powers and Turkey. The destruction of Serbia became necessary if that barrier was to be overthrown and if the danger of a Slav rising in Austria was to be avoided. The Slavs had been so weakened by the Balkan wars that they would be able to offer little resistance to any future advance of the Central Powers, and the bitterness resulting from the unwise harshness shown to Bulgaria made the immediate reorganisation of the Balkan League impossible.

The Austrians strongly resented the presence of the Greeks in Salonika.

The establishment of a Greater Roumania, which would include the Roumanians of Transylvania, would seriously threaten the integrity of the Austrian Empire.

(2) Future possibilities.

But Turkey, the friend of Germany, though greatly reduced in area had been saved from extinction, and the loss of so many Christian subjects left the Turkish Empire a homogeneous state which was inspired by the recovery of Adrianople to reorganise its army with a view to future needs; the possibility that Russia would recover Constantinople had become more remote; Constantinople remained a sphere of German influence.

December, **1913**. General Liman von Sanders was appointed Inspector-General of the Turkish army and a Turkish Field-Marshal.

The appointment of William of Wied as Mpret¹ of autonomous Albania seemed to foreshadow the strengthening of German influence on the Adriatic. But the expectation was unfulfilled. William landed at Durazzo on March 7th, **1914**, and was driven from the country by the turbulent Albanians on May 24th, **1914**.

B. Russia.

Russia, the champion of the Slavs, had avenged her defeat of **1909**; although her influence in Bulgaria was weakened she had established more friendly relations with Roumania. The hostility of Russia to the Central Powers had been strengthened.

C. The Balkans and the Great War.

The Balkan settlement had no prospect of permanence and preparations for a new war were made.

1913. Germany increased her standing army by 63,000 men; Russia increased hers by 130,000; France introduced the three years' military service.

¹ *Imperator*.

The aggressive policy adopted towards Serbia by Austria resulted in the murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo in Bosnia on June 28th, **1914**, which proved the immediate cause of the Great War.

References :

The Eastern Question (Marriott), Clarendon Press, pp. 443-476.

A Short History of Europe (Terry), Routledge, pp. 509-521.

SECTION IV

RUSSIA

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF RUSSIA, 1871-1914

I. Alexander II, 1855-1881.¹

Alexander II's early policy had led the people of Russia to hope for reform which would enable them to come into closer contact with the Czar and would give them political and social liberty. But after Karakosof's attempt to assassinate Alexander II in 1866 the Czar adopted a reactionary policy.² Under Count Dmitri Tolstoy reaction hardened into a system; the Government aimed at stability and contented itself with giving a negative direction to the course of events; administrative despotism reigned throughout the country.

The *Intelligenzia* demanded progress; the profound discontent caused by the Government's inertia found expression among Liberals about 1869, then became socialistic and, about 1878, took the form of Terrorism. The unrest was aggravated by the famine of 1873 and a serious financial crisis caused by speculation in railways in 1873-1874.

A. Reaction.

(1) The attack on the *Intelligenzia*.

1871. By limiting access to the universities—which had recently lost many of their privileges—to students from the purely classical Gymnasias Tolstoy tried to reduce the number of men qualified for the learned professions.

(2) Justice.

Press cases and political cases were tried without a jury.

¹ For the early part of his reign, see *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 473.

² *Ibid.*, page 483.

(3) The Press.

Official warnings were frequently issued to newspapers and, in 1873, editors were compelled on pain of dismissal to reveal the names of their contributors.

B. Socialism.

The peasants had been unable to secure the full advantage of the Act of Emancipation of 1861; the urban workmen justly complained of the conditions of labour.

Russian thought, hitherto profoundly affected by the sterile literary Nihilism of Pisareff, who died in 1868, was now diverted towards Socialism by Lavroff and still more by Mikhailovsky, who advocated "sociological individualism" in his *Notes of the Fatherland*, which aimed at raising individual character and promoting the welfare of the working class. Bakunin wished to bring about anarchy by insurrections among the peasants and to establish a new social order after the old had been destroyed.

1873-1875. Many students tried to promote the cause of social reform by living among the peasants, but the attempt proved a failure.

C. Terrorism.

(1) Growth and organisation of Terrorism.

The Government tried to put down Socialism by force; the strong protests of the Slavophiles against the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, led to repression and extremists now adopted a policy of Terrorism which aimed at destroying absolute monarchy and securing representative government and freedom of the press. They hoped that social reform would follow their duel with the Government. Control of the movement was secured by the Moderate "Land and Liberty" Association, but in June, 1879, the control passed into the hands of an inner and more violent society, "The Will of the People"; Mikhailoff organised Terrorism.

February 5th, 1878. Vera Zasulich fired at General Trepoff, the head of the police at Kazan. In spite of her confession the jury acquitted her.

1879-1880. Four attempts were made to kill the Czar ; several heads of police and spies were murdered.

(2) The Czar's policy.

The Czar favoured repressive measures against the Terrorists and, in 1879, divided the country into six divisions under governor-generals to meet the emergency.

The Liberal Zemstva formed the Zemstvo Union, which did not favour Terrorism, but demanded full political freedom, parliamentary government through an Imperial and a Federal *Duma*, and decentralisation.

General Loris Melikoff, who became practically dictator, showed strong sympathy with reform and instituted a "dictatorship of the heart"; but he considered that the establishment of constitutional government was untimely, if not impossible.

March 13th, 1881. Alexander II approved of Loris Melikoff's suggestion that a consultative committee should be appointed to consider reform.

(3) Assassination of Alexander II.

March 13th, 1881. Alexander II killed by a bomb in the streets of St. Petersburg.

II. Alexander III, 1881-1894.

A. Triumph of Reaction, 1881-1904.

The assassination of Alexander II ruined Terrorism. It roused the people who had hitherto shown no strong feeling ; wholesale executions exterminated the Terrorists. Dmitri Tolstoy was recalled to office as Minister of the Interior. Pobyedonostseff, "the evil genius of Russia," the Procurator of the Holy Synod, strongly supported reaction ; he adopted the principles of

Autocracy, Orthodoxy and Nationalism and applied them without mercy.

The Czar declared his "faith in the power and truth of the Autocracy which, for the benefit of the people, we are called upon to strengthen and guard from any encroachments."

The Czar hoped to restore the class distinctions which had been weakened by Alexander II, and, in 1885, expressed the hope that "the Russian nobles (would) preserve a dominant part in military leadership, in affairs of local administration and courts."

(1) Education.

a. The Universities.

Strict supervision was established over the universities. Liberal Professors, like Vinogradoff, were expelled.

1899. The universities were closed owing to disorder among the students.

b. Schools.

The attempt of Pobyedonostseff to found church schools failed; peasants and sons of workmen were excluded from secondary schools; Government inspectors controlled the primary Zemstvo schools.

(2) The Press.

The press was muzzled.

1882-1889. Fourteen papers were stopped.

1896. Only temporary licenses were issued to newspapers. Foreign books and newspapers were rigorously censored.

(3) The Law Courts.

1889. Jurors were nominated by the Government in many cases.

1889. Land Captains, selected from the nobility by the Minister for the Interior, superseded the elected justices of the peace. They had considerable powers of administration, appointed and dismissed local officials and exercised supervision over local assemblies.

(4) The Zemstva.

1890. The Zemstvo Law made Land Captains *ex officio* members of the Zemstva, raised the franchise, reduced the number of peasant members and excluded doctors and schoolmasters.

(5) General.

The general result was that class distinctions were emphasised, the liberty of the subject further restricted, and the Government became more centralised and was cut off from the people. Opposition by lawful methods was no longer possible.

B. Economic Development.

During this period of repression important economic developments took place.

(1) Finance.

Finances had been embarrassed by the expense of the war of **1877**, famine, and the cost of settling claims that had arisen owing to the emancipation of the serfs. Largely owing to French loans the national debt was readjusted.

1887. The revenue became greater than the expenditure.

(2) Industry.

a. Development.

The commercial development of Russia was hampered from **1880** to **1887** by reaction from earlier speculation. Wages fell, industry was injured by strikes, many factories closed.

But from 1887 industry prospered and was fostered by the development of railways.

Between 1893 and 1897 the number of workmen in Southern Russia nearly doubled, the value of the products of their labour trebled.

The iron trade of Southern Russia grew at an amazing rate ; the cotton trade prospered ; the naphtha of the Caucasus and the corn and minerals of Siberia added to the profits of trade. Russia gradually became a capitalist country and the supremacy of agriculture was weakened.

b. The Government.

The Government exercised paternal authority over industry and tried to improve the position of workmen by Insurance and Factory Acts.

1882. A Factory Act prohibited child labour.

1886. A Factory Act strengthened the authority of inspectors and made strikes illegal.

(3) Agriculture.

Some improvement was made in the condition of the peasants and "informed men" were summoned to aid the Government with their advice. A measure for the obligatory redemption of land had been introduced by Loris Melikoff in January, 1881, and payments for redemption were lowered. Bunge abolished the *per capita* tax which had pressed heavily on the peasants. In July, 1889, the State Council passed a law which facilitated the migration of peasants.

But the position of the peasants was gravely impaired by appalling famines in 1891, 1892 and 1893.

Thus the Government, although reactionary, did attempt to improve the economic condition of the masses.

C. Russification.

The policy of Russification, which involved separation from Western Europe, had marked the later years of Alexander II,¹ and was continued by Alexander III.

(1) The Baltic Provinces.

In Esthonia, Livonia and Courland, the movement was directed largely against the strong German element and the Lutheran Church.

a. Language.

1885. Russian was made the official language; after 1889 the lectures in Dorpat University were to be given in Russian and the use of German was forbidden in schools.

b. Religion.

Every effort was made to extend the Greek Church and Pobyedonostseff took an active part in the movement. Lutheran pastors who received back those who had left the Lutheran for the Greek Church were imprisoned; a licence from the Procurator of the Synod was necessary before a Lutheran Church could be built.

(2) Poland.

a. Government policy.

Although the officials were practically the only Russians in Poland the Russian language was made compulsory in primary or secondary schools; in 1876 Russian law courts had been established; in 1885 the sale of Polish land to foreigners was forbidden.

b. Commercial expansion and Socialism.

Young Poles, unable to secure Government appointments, turned to trade and the industrial

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. 1V, page 481.

development was remarkable, particularly in Lodz and Warsaw. Socialism spread among the workmen and the Polish Socialist Society, formed in 1893, promoted many successful strikes and advocated the establishment of an independent republic.

c. The Middle Party.

The Middle Party was intermediate between the Socialists and the aristocratic "Conciliators," who hoped by obedience to win concessions from Russia.

1895. Organisation of the National League, which aimed at autonomy under the suzerainty of Russia and succeeded in uniting the nobles, middle class, priests and peasants, and thus ended the separation between classes which Russia had tried to effect in 1864.

(3) Finland.

a. Alexander II, 1855-1881.

Alexander II had shown considerable sympathy towards Finland; he guaranteed her Constitution and ordered that the Diet should meet every five years. In his reign army service was restricted to Finland; law courts, railroads, schools and the bank were reorganised; the Finnish language as well as Swedish was made official.

b. Alexander III, 1881-1894.

Alexander III also guaranteed the Constitution but adopted a policy of Russification.

Difficulties arose as to the censorship of the press and public officials were required to know Russian; in 1890 an attempt was made to limit the control exercised by Finland over her money and customs.

[c. Nicholas II, 1894-1917.

Nicholas II carried on the same policy. He tried to give to Russians the control of the army of Finland, which was made a Russian military district; Bobrikoff, Governor-General from 1898 to 1904, introduced the Russian postal and police systems. The Finns adopted a policy of passive resistance; Social Democracy gained ground; Bobrikoff was assassinated and the policy of Russification failed to become effective in Finland.]

(4) The Jews.

Russian Jews numbered about 5,000,000 and retained their distinctive dress and language. Alexander II had granted them important privileges but Alexander III proved a bitter enemy.

1882-1892. The Jews were compelled to live in fifteen provinces known as the Jewish Pale, outside of which they could not hold property; they were deprived of any share in local government; the number of Jewish children admitted to schools was limited and thus few were able to qualify for official positions.

The police interpreted these laws harshly and heavy bribes were paid to secure milder treatment. *Pogroms* were often instigated by the police, notably at Kishineff in 1903. Three hundred thousand Jews left the country; many became revolutionaries. The Jewish middle-class, who disapproved of violent measures of resistance, gradually formed a party which co-operated later with the Cadets.¹

III. Nicholas II, 1894-1917.

A. Early years, 1894-1903.

(1) Pobyedonostseff.

Up to 1905 Pobyedonostseff remained supreme and exercised very strong influence over the weak Czar.

¹ Page 257.

He continued to persecute unorthodox creeds such as the Stundists and Dukhobors. In 1900 the Holy Synod excommunicated Count Leo Tolstoy.

1899. He induced the Czar to put an end to the independence of Finland. He persecuted Armenians in the Caucasus.

1903. Massacre of Jews at Kishineff.

(2) Witte, Minister of Finance, 1894-1903.

a. Finance.

1894-1897. Witte rendered real service to Russia by stabilising the rouble. He succeeded in raising foreign loans which enabled Russia to carry on the Japanese War.¹

b. State monopolies.

(i) Railways.

By 1900, owing to the purchase of private lines and the construction of State railways, Witte had brought sixty per cent. of the railways under State control.

1901. Opening of the Trans-Siberian Railway.

(ii) **1894.** The State resumed control of the sale of spirits.

c. Industry.

(i) Government support.

The Government helped to meet the cost of erecting factories, and subsidised banks.

(ii) Protection.

Witte tried to protect industry, and particularly the iron trade, by protective measures.

February 10th, **1894.** The tariff war which had sprung up between Germany and Russia

¹ Page 275.

was mitigated by a Commercial Treaty, and German trade with Russia increased while British trade declined.

d. The Zemstva.

Witte was anxious to improve the condition of agriculture and to gain the support of the peasants; he favoured the extension of local effort, and the Zemstva did much excellent work particularly after 1902. They provided libraries and schools; appointed medical officers and veterinary inspectors; improved local water supplies; constructed roads.

(3) Reform.

a. The position of Nicholas II.

The Zemstva favoured constitutional reform. July, 1895. The Tver Zemstvo, in an address to the Czar, urged that officials should conform to the law and suggested that the monarchy would be strengthened by co-operating with "all classes of the Russian people, which are alike devoted to the throne and the country."

Nicholas II, in reply, upheld the cause of Autocracy and said that schemes for co-operation between the Czar and his people were "senseless dreams."

b. Conferences.

1896-1903. Semi-official conferences, composed partly of Zemstvo representatives, were held to promote social and political reform. These produced little practical result but greatly stimulated public interest in reform.

c. The Liberators.

The Liberators, who insisted on the rights and duties of the individual and advocated

Constitutionalism and Democracy, formed a new and important element. Princes Dolgorukoff and Shakovsky and other ardent Liberals took the lead.

January, 1904. Formation of the Union of Liberators in which the Zemstvo members, the ardent supporters of representative government, formed an important element.

(4) Labour.

a. General.

Witte's financial measures strengthened the growth of capitalism in Russia, and capitalism led to the formation of a city proletariat.

b. Marx and Gorky.

The growing influence of Karl Marx and, after 1891, of Maxim Gorky stimulated the idea of a class war, and the development of education was accompanied by a growing tendency to Socialism.

c. The Workman's Social Democratic Party.

1898. Formation of a "Workmen's Social Democratic Party," whose journal the *Spark* preached more vigorous class propaganda.

This party, in which Lenin took an active part, was weakened by the opposing interests of peasants and workmen, but all the members wished to secure a democratic republic.

d. The Socialist Revolutionary Party.

c. 1900. A new party, the Socialist Revolutionary Party, championed the cause of the peasants and advocated Terrorism.

From 1896 the strike became a more effective weapon, of which the supporters of Labour made an increasing use.

- B. From 1903 to the battles of Mukden (March) and Tsushima (May, 1905).

Public opinion was exasperated by the disasters of the Japanese War (February, 1904–September, 1905), and the period from the appointment of Plehve as Minister of the Interior, in 1902, to the first meeting of the *Duma* in May, 1906, was a period of confusion. The agitation for reform was led by the Liberators, but professional men, workmen and peasants took part in and added to the confusion of the movement. The weak Czar was reluctant to weaken the Autocracy of which Pobye-donostseff was the determined supporter; Trepoff, Governor-General of St. Petersburg, adopted violent measures of repression to which agitators replied with strikes and assassination.

But, largely owing to the strong feeling caused by the Japanese War which compelled the Government to make concessions, the movement towards reform gathered strength and the first *Duma* met on May 10th, 1906.

July 28th, 1904. Plehve assassinated at St. Petersburg by a member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

- (1) To the Concessions of March, 1905.

The Liberators found a large measure of support among the *Zemstva*.

a. The demands of the Liberators.

November 19th–22nd, 1904. A meeting of *Zemstvo* members at St. Petersburg demanded—

An elected national assembly controlling ministers and settling the budget.

Freedom of conscience, speech, the press, meeting and association.

Equality of civil rights for all citizens and the abolition of exceptional laws.

The abolition of the class basis in local government.

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An amnesty for all political prisoners.

This programme was cordially endorsed at banquets and meetings held by professional men in St. Petersburg.

December 25th, 1905. An imperial edict promised some measures of reform but the promises were not fulfilled; the Zemstva were ordered to limit their activities; the Czar claimed to act on his own initiative.

March, 1905. The Zemstvo Liberals demanded the institution of an Assembly of two Chambers, advocated the compulsory expropriation of landlords, with compensation, and the extension of peasant holdings.

b. New factors.

(i) The Union of Unions.

April-May, 1905. Formation, in defiance of laws forbidding associations, of Unions of every trade and profession.

May 21st, 1905. First meeting of the Union of Unions of which Milyukoff became President. He aimed at forming a new party of which the Zemstvo Liberals "would supply the leaders and the unions the weight of numbers."

(ii) Workmen.

Father Gapon organised the workmen of St. Petersburg.

January 22nd, 1905. On "Bloody Sunday" a deputation of workmen was organised by Gapon to petition the Czar for a redress of their grievances. "We have been oppressed; we are not recognised as human beings; we are treated as slaves. . . . We are choked by despotism and irresponsibility, and we are breathless. . . . The limit of patience has been reached. . . . Do not refuse assistance to thy

people. . . . Cast away from them the intolerable oppression of officials. Destroy the wall between thyself and thy people and let them rule the country together with thyself." The deputation was fired upon by the soldiers; about one thousand five hundred people were killed or wounded.

January 23rd, 1905. The lawyers and other professional men declared that the Government had "declared war on the entire Russian people."

General disorder followed. Many strikes took place; the universities closed; many policemen were murdered, especially in the Jewish Pale and the Caucasus; the Grand Duke Sergius was assassinated at Moscow on February 17th, 1905; in Poland the peasants refused to use the Russian language.

Trepoff's "Black Hundreds" treated all opponents with merciless brutality; martial law was proclaimed in Poland and the Caucasus.

c. The peasants.

The peasants, stimulated by the Socialist Revolutionary Party, demanded a grant of seven acres of land per head; limitation of taxation; exemption from class laws and the abolition of Land Captains.

d. Concessions, March to June, 1905.

March, 1905. Partly owing to the spread of disorder and partly owing to the war, the Czar promised to summon "the worthiest people elected by the population to share in the drafting and discussing of legislative proposals."

Other edicts gave greater religious freedom; mitigated the hardships of the Jews; remitted taxes due from peasants; regularised State trials.

C. Progressive Edicts, 1905-1906.

The defeats of Mukden (March 1st-10th, 1905) and Tsushima (May 27th-28th, 1905) greatly weakened the Government.

The Union of Unions demanded a Constituent Assembly and practically sanctioned Terrorism. It was joined by a Peasants' Union which advocated "all land for those that labour."

July 19th, 1905. A Congress of Town Councillors approved of a constitution drawn up by the Zemstvo Liberals, protested against the failure of ministers to carry out reforms of which the Czar had approved, demanded the abolition of the bureaucratic wall between the Czar and his people and advised the people to hold meetings in spite of the police.

Prince Trubetskoy, the leader of their deputation, said to the Czar: "Do not delay, Sire. Great is your responsibility before God and Russia at this terrible hour of the nation's trial." He replied: "Dismiss your doubts. My will—the will of the Czar to summon representatives of the people, is unshakable. I hope you will assist me in this work."

(1) The *Duma* Law, August, 1905.

August 19th, 1905. The *Duma* Law sanctioned the establishment of a consultative *Duma* elected by indirect election on a franchise from which factory workmen in towns and persons who held no property in country districts, such as doctors and schoolmasters, were excluded. The conditions of election ensured the return of a large number of peasants.

The *Duma* was to have power of initiating laws, to discuss the budget and railway administration, to interpellate ministers.

September 25th, 1905. A Zemstvo Congress, in which Milyukoff exercised great influence, decided to support the *Duma*. The Union of Unions wavered

and some of its members strongly opposed the new law.

(2) Serious disaffection.

October 1905. A new party, the Constitutional Democrats, or Cadets, was formed by Milyukoff. It favoured a Constituent Assembly but strongly opposed revolutionary methods.

October 29th, 1905. A Council of Workmen Delegates, which gained control of the Union of Unions, demanded "a popular government, based on universal, equal, direct and secret franchise" and supported the use of strikes as political weapons. Serious strikes broke out, especially among the railwaymen of Moscow; in spite of Trepoff's energetic measures all the unions joined the strike and the general activities of the country were paralysed.

(3) The Manifesto of October 30th, 1905.

The Czar, owing to the growth of popular feeling, dismissed Pobyedonostseff and Trepoff and appointed Witte Premier. Witte drew up the Manifesto of October 30th, which—

- a. Asserted the integrity of the Empire and the need of co-operation between the Czar and the people.
- b. Gave the *Duma* full legislative powers.
- c. Promised a widely extended franchise and freedom of conscience, speech, meeting and association.
- d. Promised that elected members should be added to the Council of State.

(4) Disorder and repression.

a. Disorder.

Disorder continued; many police were murdered and many Jews perished in *pogroms* at which the police connived.

In Finland a general strike lasting eight days secured the restoration of the Diet, but Poland was placed under martial law.

There were risings among the sailors at Cronstadt, Vladivostok and Sebastopol; soldiers mutinied at Kieff, Ekaterinodar and Moscow.

b. Witte's Policy.

Witte relaxed the censorship of the press and a flood of violent articles aggravated disorder. He reduced the payments due from peasants, but famine caused great hardship and agrarian risings took place, particularly in the Baltic provinces where the Letts proclaimed a republic.

c. Repression.

November, 1905. Witte, discouraged by the failure of his well-meant efforts and supported by the Octobrists who wished to carry into effect the October manifesto, was now compelled to agree to a policy of repression.

November 29th, 1905. Arrest of the Committee of the Peasants' Union.

December 12th, 1905. St. Petersburg placed under martial law.

December 16th, 1905. The Council of Workmen Delegates, which had taken an active part in recent strikes, was arrested.

December 22nd-January 1st, 1906. Suppression of a serious rising in Moscow.

The troops established a reign of terror in many places, particularly in the Baltic provinces.

(5) Further Manifestos regarding the *Duma*.

Witte now made further concessions.

- a. December 24th, 1905.** All taxpayers were enfranchised and thus "universal suffrage had been virtually granted."

- b. March 5th, 1906. This manifesto showed a tendency to reaction; disorder had been checked and the Government now claimed greater authority in the new constitution.

The elected *Duma* was to be supplemented by the Council of State, half the members of which were to be nominated by the Czar and half elected. The assent of both houses was necessary for legislation.

The Government hoped that the Council of State would prove a citadel of bureaucracy against the national representatives.

The fundamental laws of the Empire, the basis of Autocracy, were excluded from the consideration of the houses, their control of the budget was limited; the Czar alone could direct the army, navy and foreign policy and his final approval was essential for legislation.

- c. Repressive legislation.

February to May, 1906. The Government further strengthened its position by repressive legislation—troops were to aid police, the possession of explosives was forbidden, the right of meeting and association was limited and more rigorous censorship of newspapers was established. "A calm as of a graveyard reigned over the terrorised towns and burned villages. Under such conditions the elections for the first *Duma* drew near."¹

Thus while the Cadets favoured a policy of moderate reform and Witte was conciliatory, the prospects of a successful settlement were prejudiced by the determination of reactionaries to maintain Autocracy and by the existence of more or less chronic disorder which provoked stern measures of repression.

¹ Kornilov, *Modern Russian History*, Vol. II, page 316.

D. The *Duma*.**(1) The First *Duma*, May, 1906.**

May 10th, 1906. Meeting of the First *Duma* at St. Petersburg.

a. Parties.

The Cadets, the largest party, numbered a hundred and fifty; Milyukoff, who had been excluded from election, kept the party together and, although not a member, exercised a strong influence on the *Duma*.

The Octobrists, or Conservative Reformers, numbered fifty-six.

A Labour party, which soon numbered ninety, was strongly supported by the peasants.

Claims for local self-government were made by alien members of whom the Poles numbered twenty-six.

The Government—Witte was dismissed; Goremykin, who became Premier, had little faith in the *Duma*; Stolypin, the Minister of the Interior, was the most able member.

b. The Work of the First *Duma*.

The *Duma* "demanded control over the executive, responsibility of ministers and their dependence on the majority of the *Duma*, reform of the newly constituted Upper House and for the Lower full competence in legislation, a monopoly of financial control and the right of receiving petitions."¹

It advocated equal civil rights for all, freedom of association and education, local government for alien races under Russian rule and a complete amnesty for political offences.

Goremykin declared that the *Duma* was exceeding its powers. Ministers left the *Duma*

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XII, page 396.

owing to the searching interpellations of the members. The *Duma* passed a vote of censure on the Government.

c. The Dissolution of the *Duma*.

The breach between *Duma* and the Government widened. The *Duma* sent commissions to investigate a recent *pogrom* at Byelostok and their report proved the connivance of Government officials.

The *Duma* and the Government each brought in a scheme of land reform in the hope of winning over the peasants.

An attempt of Shipoff to form a coalition ministry of the moderate members of the *Duma* failed because the Cadets refused to join. A bureaucratic Government with Stolypin as Premier was established.

July 21st, 1906. Stolypin dissolved the First *Duma*.

d. Failure of the First *Duma*.

A deadlock had occurred between the *Duma* and the Government and "the issue before the country was the question who was master." The failure to establish harmonious relations between the legislature and the executive was a great political tragedy.

e. The Viborg Manifesto.

July 21st, 1906. About two hundred members of the *Duma* issued the Viborg Manifesto urging the people to "stand up firmly for the trampled rights of popular representation and for the State *Duma*," to pay no taxes, supply no recruits and to refuse to acknowledge or pay foreign loans until the representatives of the people were again summoned.

(2) The Second *Duma*, March, 1907.a. Interval between the First and Second *Dumas*.

(i) Terrorism.

The deputies who signed the Viborg Manifesto were sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

An outbreak of Terrorism was followed by severe repression. In twelve months 35,000 people were banished without trial; from September to October 3000 were executed after drum-head court-martial.

(ii) Political chaos.

The political condition of the country was chaotic.

Stolypin had few supporters and an extension of the power of local governors weakened his authority.

The Cadets were attacked by the Government and could do little. The Octobrists were not yet fully organised.

b. Election.

The Government made strong efforts to influence the next election. The list of voters was revised, priests were ordered to secure support for Government candidates, voting papers were withheld. But the attempt failed, largely owing to the action of the peasants whom Stolypin had vainly attempted to win over by a decree, passed on November 9th, 1906, encouraging holders of communal property to take it as their private possession.

The elections resulted in the return of 123 Cadets, 101 Labour candidates, 54 Social Democrats, 35 Socialist Revolutionaries and 32 Octobrists.

c. The Second *Duma*, March-June, 1907.

March 5th, 1907. Meeting of the Second *Duma*.

The Cadets again led the *Duma* and, together with the Labour Party, aimed at avoiding dissolution by adopting a moderate policy.

Stolypin proved obdurate. A plot was formed to assassinate the Czar. Stolypin accused the Social Democrats of complicity, demanded their expulsion from the *Duma* and, without giving the *Duma* time to investigate the matter—

June 16th, 1907, Stolypin dissolved the Second *Duma* on the ground "that its composition was unsatisfactory."

(3) The Third *Duma*.

a. Stern repression.

Disorder continued ; in 1906 and 1907, 4131 officials and police were killed or wounded. Thirty-one Social Democrats were exiled to Siberia ; the press was rigidly censored ; the right of meeting limited, especially in universities ; many peasants were expelled from their holdings and became brigands.

b. New Electoral Law, 1907.

June, 1907. Provinces which had elected reformers were disfranchised altogether or lost some of their members. Only seven towns were to elect their own members. Many voters lost their votes and the general result was to give the landowners, in many provinces, an absolute majority over all other voters. The Government transformed the *Duma* into the organ of the landowners and great capitalists.

c. The Third *Duma*, 1907-1912.

November 14th, 1907. Meeting of the Third *Duma*. It was representative of the upper classes. The Octobrists, the largest party, numbered 153 and their leader, Guchkoff, was the real master of the *Duma*. Only 54 Cadets were returned.

Stolypin was opposing the reactionaries and the Octobrists supported Stolypin.

The Third *Duma* accomplished some moderate reforms but failed to impress its will on the Government. In 1912 Milyukoff declared that "in order to acquire one single right—to exist, the *Duma* had to become one of the wheels in the bureaucratic machine."

(i) Reforms and foreign policy.

1908. Strong criticism in the *Duma* of the army and navy (particularly Admiral Alexieff); full discussion of the budget.

1909. The *Duma* investigated the action of the police. Rapid fall in the number of executions; martial law weakened.

1909. A Land Law, passed owing to co-operation between the *Duma* and the Government, improved the condition of the peasants.

(ii) Finland.

1908. Owing to Socialist activity in Finland, Stolypin, in spite of the opposition of the *Duma*, which favoured autonomy for Finland, gave to the Russian Government the direct control of Finnish affairs and roused the bitter opposition of the Diet.

(iii) Germany.

The traditional friendship between Germany and Russia gradually grew weaker.

The danger of the German forward policy in Turkey was realised.

1908. The annexation by Austria, with the approval of Germany, of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹ aroused strong indignation in Russia and emphasised the need of union between the Russian Government and people.

The arrogance of German officers and officials, the harshness of German stewards on large estates and the difficulties that had arisen owing to German and Russian competition for Polish trade added to the growing unpopularity of Germany.

(iv) Great Britain.

The *Dumas* had shown distinct friendship towards Great Britain, to which both the Cadets and the Octobrists were largely indebted for their political ideals.

Great Britain had evinced a friendly interest in the development of constitutional government involved in the establishment of the *Duma*, and had shown friendship towards Russia in the Balkan crisis.

1907. The Anglo-Russian Convention.²

1908. Establishment of an Anglo-Russian Chamber of Commerce at St. Petersburg.

June-July, **1909.** Visit of the President of the *Duma* and the leading moderate members to England. For Great Britain "the discovery of the friendliness of the Russian people introduced a profoundly important factor into the balance of foreign relations."

d. Stolypin.

Peter Stolypin, "the Russian Bismarck," succeeded Goremykin as Premier in **1906**. He opposed the extreme reactionaries, such as

¹ Page 217.

² Page 78.

"The Union of Russian Men," but, as against the *Duma*, insisted on "first pacification, then reforms."

"Pacification" meant vigorous repression. From 1906 to 1913 three thousand two hundred and eighty-two persons were executed after trial by court-martial; the number of penalties inflicted on newspaper proprietors increased from sixteen to three hundred and forty; in January, 1911, assemblies of students were forbidden in universities.

September 1st, 1911. Stolypin was assassinated at Kieff.

(4) The Fourth *Duma*, 1913.

The Fourth *Duma* failed to effect necessary reforms but attempted to improve the army by attacking those who had mismanaged the Japanese War and by increasing the military budget.

The Great War seemed likely to unite the Czar and his people. The former declared that "in the midst of the heavy trials sent upon our country, we wish to be in perfect union with our people." The *Duma* passed a vote of confidence in the Government and, in spite of protests from the Labour Party, asserted "that it had exhausted every means of maintaining peace compatible with the prestige of Russia as a Great Power."

But the bureaucracy again displayed its usual corruption and inefficiency, and the victorious Russian army was compelled to withdraw from Galicia in 1915 because the Government had failed to supply it with adequate munitions.

References :

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XII, chaps. XII and XIII.
Modern Russian History (Kornilov), Skeffington, chap. XXXI to end.

RUSSIA AND THE FAR EAST

I. General.

A. Russian Policy in the Far East.

Siberia presented an obvious field for Russian expansion. It was rich in corn and minerals; inhabited by ill-organised nomadic tribes which could offer little resistance to Russian troops; the Ural Mountains did not form a serious obstacle.

(1) Beginning of expansion.

The expedition of the Cossacks under Jermak, who about 1581 founded Tobolsk, marks the beginning of the eastward expansion of Russia, and the military settlements of the Cossacks consolidated conquests and formed excellent bases for further advance.

(2) Revival of expansion.

From the time of Peter the Great (1689-1725) to 1846 Russia directed her attention to the problems of Western and Southern Europe but Nicholas I resumed the policy of expansion towards the East. Muravieff, the Governor of Siberia, formed new Cossack settlements and, by 1860, secured for Russia part of the coast of Manchuria, thus extending Russian authority to the frontiers of Korea. The large number of exiles and of peasant emigrants, the real pioneers of Empire, who settled in Siberia promoted the development of the country.

1860. Foundation of Vladivostok, "the lord of the East."

(3) Nicholas II.

Nicholas II, who had visited the Far East, adopted a vigorous policy. The attraction of Siberia partly accounts for his failure to give effective aid to the

Christians in Turkey in **1896-1897**. The French alliance enabled him to find in Paris the financial support he required.

1875. The expulsion of the Japanese from Saghalien had given Russia a valuable base in the North Pacific. She now aimed at strengthening her hold on the mainland—

- (i) by building the Trans-Siberian Railway ;
- (ii) by securing an ice-free port.

B. The Weakness of China.

European nations had taken advantage of the weakness of China to secure important concessions.

(1) Great Britain.

1841. China ceded Hong-Kong to Great Britain, which secured a very profitable trade in the five Treaty Ports :—Canton, Amoy, Shanghai, Ningpo and Foo-Chow.

1858. Kowloon was ceded to Great Britain.

(2) France.

1859. France acquired Saigon.

1861-1862. France became mistress of Cochin China.

1883. France established a protectorate over Annam and Tonquin.

Russia [and Germany] were naturally anxious to secure a share of the spoil.

C. Japan.

1868. The Mikado broke the feudal power of the Daimios. The authority was centralised in the hands of the Mikado ; the customs, institutions, and particularly the army and navy, of Japan were remodelled on European lines.

Japan viewed with alarm the extension of Russian power and was particularly anxious to prevent Russia

from securing any part of Korea which, owing to its strategical position, was of supreme importance to China, Russia and Japan.

"The Far Eastern Question is the outcome of the expansion of two vigorous races, that of Russia and Japan, at the expense of the almost torpid policy of China."¹

II. Developments from 1890.

A. The Trans-Siberian Railway.

1891. Construction commenced; the cost was largely met by French loans. The line was to be 5542 miles long; the cost was estimated at £100,000,000.

The railway was strategic and passed through few towns. Up to **1894** Vladivostok was to be the terminus but, in **1896**, Russia was allowed by China to construct the railway through Manchuria, thus avoiding the difficult Amur valley, and to extend the line to Mukden and Port Arthur.

1901. The Trans-Siberian Railway was opened.

It facilitated access to the Pacific coast; developed the import into Europe of Siberian coal and corn and Chinese tea; stimulated emigration from Russia.

B. The Chino-Japanese War, 1894.

(1) Korea.

Serious difficulties arose between China and Japan about Korea. China claimed a vague suzerainty over the "hermit kingdom"; Japan wished to maintain the independence of the country; both resented European intervention.

1875. Japan recognised the independence of Korea, but compelled Korea to make a commercial treaty and open three ports to Japanese trade.

¹ Rose, *The Development of the European Nations*, page 568.

1885. Owing to attacks made on Chinese and Japanese at Seoul, China and Japan agreed to leave Korea to govern herself but reserved the right of either Power to send troops into Korea after notifying the other of its intention.

(2) The War.

June, **1894.** Chinese help was sent to help the King of Korea against rebels. Japan resented the action of China which she regarded as an assertion of suzerainty.

August, **1894**–April, **1895.** Conspicuous success of the new Japanese army and fleet. The Japanese gained a great naval victory on the Yalu River on September 17th, **1894**, and captured Port Arthur on November 21st.

(3) The Treaty of Simonoseki, **1895.**

April 17th, **1895.** By the Treaty of Simonoseki China ceded to Japan the Liao-Tong Peninsula, Formosa and the Pescadores and promised to pay a war indemnity of 200,000,000¹ taels. Four new cities were to be opened to foreign trade and Japanese vessels were to have the right of navigation on some Chinese rivers.

Japan was to hold Wei-Hai-Wei until the terms of the treaty were carried out.

(4) The Revision of the Treaty.

Russia strongly resented the acquisition by Japan of the Liao-Tong Peninsula, the southern portion of Manchuria, which contained Port Arthur and other ice-free ports. France supported Russia, probably in order to strengthen the recent Franco-Russian Alliance; Germany supported Russia, possibly in the hope of counteracting the Franco-Russian Alliance and of securing the help of Russia in her attempt to obtain further German colonies in the Far East.

¹ About £50,000,000.

Russia, France and Germany presented a collective note to Japan demanding the revision of the Treaty of Simonoseki on the ground that the possession of Port Arthur would enable Japan to dominate Peking.

Japan, unable to resist the three Powers, gave up the Liao-Tong Peninsula on condition of receiving an additional indemnity of 30,000,000 taels.

III The Increase of European Influence after 1895.

A Russia.

(1) The Russo-Chinese Bank.

Russia had earned the gratitude of China by her opposition to Japan; she added to her services by raising in Paris a loan of 400,000,000 francs to meet half the cost of the Japanese indemnity. She obtained a generous reward.

1896. Establishment of the Russo-Chinese Bank which received extensive authority over taxes, railways and telegraphs. A serious blow to British commerce.

(2) Manchuria.

Russia now secured a hold on Manchuria.

a. The Treaty of March, 1896.

By this treaty a secret alliance was made between Russia and China; Russia received the right of making use of Chinese harbours and powers to construct a branch line of the Trans-Siberian Railway to Talienwan.

b. The Cassini Treaty, 1896.

October, **1896.** China gave Russia the right to fortify the peninsula of Liao-Tong, to carry the railway to Port Arthur, to concentrate troops in Liao-Tong and to use Port Arthur in time of war. Russia probably guaranteed the integrity of the Chinese Empire, particularly against Japanese aggression on the mainland.

c. Port Arthur.

March 15th, 1898. Port Arthur and Talienwan were leased to Russia for twenty-five years; the former was to be open only to Russian and Chinese warships; Russia received the right of fortifying Port Arthur.

d. Russian occupation of Manchuria.

Russia took advantage of the Boxer rising to occupy Manchuria.

July, 1900. Massacre of 45,000 Chinese by the Russian Governor of Blagovestchensk.

e. Convention with Japan.

August, 1902. Russia promised Japan to evacuate Manchuria completely within eighteen months.

April, 1903. Russia refused to complete the evacuation of Manchuria.

B. Germany.

Owing to the murder of two German missionaries, a German squadron entered Kiao-Chow harbour.

March 5th, 1898. China granted to Germany a lease of Kiao-Chow and the province of Shantung for ninety-nine years.

It is probable that Russia, which knew that strong feeling against her aggressive policy had arisen in Great Britain, Japan and the United States, had come to a secret agreement with Germany whereby Russia assented to the grant of Kiao-Chow to Germany, Germany to the Russian occupation of Port Arthur.

C. France.

France, the ally of Russia, had secured, in 1896, Kwantung and Yunnun.

D. Great Britain.**(1) Weakness of British Diplomacy.**

Owing to difficulties arising in Egypt in 1898,¹ to the Boer War, 1899-1902,² and to her singularly feeble diplomacy Great Britain had failed to check the advance of Russia.

Her influence had been weakened also by the French acquisition of Kwantung and Yunnun, which threatened the intercourse of India and Burmah with China ; and by the limitation by Germany of British influence in the valley of the Yang-tse-Kiang.³

July 1st, 1898. Great Britain, which hitherto had tried to insist on the integrity of China, secured a lease of Wei-Hai-Wei.

(2) The Alliance between Great Britain and Japan, 1902.

January 30th, 1902. Great Britain and Japan made a defensive alliance, originally for five years but renewable.

a. Terms.

(i) If one of the allies should be at war with a single Power the other should remain neutral.

(ii) If the former were attacked by a second Power the latter should come to her aid.

b. Criticism.

This alliance recognised Japan for the first time as a first-class Power and, owing to the British command of the seas, rendered it impossible for France or Germany to help Russia against Japan. It gave Japan time to complete her military reorganisation and enabled Japan to attack Russia in 1904.

It safeguarded China and opposed a barrier to Russian advance in the Far East ; it diverted Russian activities to the Balkans and improved

¹ *Notes on British History*, Vol. IV, page 938.

² *Ibid.*, page 1011.

³ Page 133.

the relations of Great Britain and Russia by lessening the danger of friction in the Far East.

It ended the "splendid isolation" of Great Britain; re-established British prestige which had been seriously impaired by the Boer War; relieved Great Britain of the need of maintaining a strong fleet in the Pacific.

IV. Korea.

Russia being supreme in Manchuria, Japan tried to strengthen her position in Korea.

A. Japan secured control of the railway from Chemulpo to Seoul.

B. August 13th, 1903. Admiral Alexieff was proclaimed Viceroy of the Far East.

C. October, 1903. In defiance of their agreement with Japan, Russians crossed the Yalu River and seized Yongampho in Korea. Russia now fortified Port Arthur until it was as strong as "seven Sebastopols," hurried reinforcements into Manchuria and strengthened her Pacific Fleet.

D. January 13th, 1904. Japan offered to recognise the preponderating influence of Russia in Manchuria if Russia would recognise hers in Korea.

February 5th, 1904. Owing to the danger of a Russian occupation of Korea and the refusal of Russia to complete the evacuation of Manchuria Japan broke off diplomatic relations with Russia.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, chaps. xvii and xviii.
The Coming Power (M'Carthy), Hodder and Stoughton.
Europe and Beyond (Marriott), Methuen, chap. ix.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, 1904-1905

I. General.

A. Strength of the Combatants.

(1) The Armies.

Russia could put into the field about 80,000 troops ; a gap of a hundred miles in the railway near Lake Baikal and hard frost, which stopped navigation on the lake, made it impossible for Russia to send large reinforcements before the end of April, 1905. Japan therefore adopted a vigorous offensive with an active army of 180,000 men, for which ample reserves and reinforcements were available, and thus secured the initiative.

(2) The Navies.

The naval forces were about equal but Russia's battle-fleet was divided ; most of it was at Port Arthur but part was at Vladivostok and one cruiser at Chemulpo. The command of the sea was essential for the success of Japan.

B. Plan of Campaign.

(1) Japan.

Japan determined to attack the Russian fleet in order to cover her advance through Korea, and to concentrate in northern Korea for an advance against the Russians in Manchuria.

(2) Russia.

Kuropatkin, who was hampered by differences with Alexieff, determined to concentrate his forces at Liao-yang where the roads from Korea and Manchuria met.

(3) Railway.

The lines of railway from Vladivostok to Harbin and from Port Arthur to Harbin were obviously of supreme importance.

II. The Bombardment of Port Arthur, February 8th, 1904, to January 3rd, 1905.

General Stoessel was in command at Port Arthur, and the Pacific Fleet was in the harbour.

- A. February 8th, 1904. Admiral Togo, who had been trained on H.M.S. *Worcester*, bombarded Port Arthur and seriously damaged the fleet, thus for a time securing command of the sea.
- B. Alexieff fled from Port Arthur to Mukden, where he kept a special train in immediate readiness for further retreat.
- C. About May 5th Generals Oku and Nogi landed on the Liao-Tong Peninsula, captured a strong position on the railway at Kinchow on May 26th, and Oku took Dalny, May 30th. Port Arthur was now isolated, and Nogi on land and Togo on sea carried on the siege.
- D. Sorties of the Russian Fleet, in the hope that it might escape from Port Arthur for service elsewhere.
 - April 13th. Unsuccessful sortie. The battleship *Petropavlovsk* torpedoed; Admiral Makaroff drowned.
 - August 30th. Defeat, though not complete, of the Russian Fleet. Admiral Vitoft killed.
- E. June to December. As the result of desperate fighting, Nogi gradually drew nearer to Port Arthur.
 - December 29th. Stoessel falsely telegraphed to the Czar: "We have hardly any ammunition left. I have now 10,000 men under arms. They are all ill."

January 3rd, 1905. Surrender of Port Arthur to Nogi. The garrison included 32,000 effective men and 15,000 sick, and had vast stores of ammunition (including 29,000 tons of powder). "No more discreditable surrender has been recorded in history."¹

III. Fighting on Land.

A. Battle of Liao-yang, August 30th to September 4th.

Kuropatkin made his headquarters at Liao-yang. Three Japanese armies, under the supreme command of Marshal Oyama, advanced against him.

- (1) Kuroki marched from Chemulpo, in Korea, forced the passage of the Yalu into Manchuria, April 30th, and attacked Liao-yang from the south-east. Their success at the Yalu River greatly encouraged the Japanese.
- (2) May 19th. Nodzu landed at Takushan, on the Gulf of Korea, and marched due north.
- (3) Oku, leaving Nogi to besiege Port Arthur, advanced along the Port Arthur-Mukden railway from the south-west.

Largely owing to Togo's bombardment of February 8th the Russian Fleet allowed the Japanese forces to land unmolested.

August 30th-September 4th. Kuroki turned the Russian left flank, Nodzu broke the centre, Oku drove in their right.

September 4th. Oyama took Liao-yang, and Kuropatkin, having lost 16,500 men in this battle, retreated north to Mukden. The Japanese, who had lost 23,615 men, were too exhausted to pursue him.

B. The battle of the Shaho, October 10th-18th.

Kuropatkin unsuccessfully tried to stop the advance of the Japanese, who again routed the Russians and brought their line up to the Shaho River, only eleven miles from Mukden.

¹ *The Times*.

C. The Battle of Mukden, March 1st-10th, 1905.

Kuropatkin held strongly entrenched positions on the north bank of the Shaho with an army of 310,000 men and 1504 guns. Oyama, reinforced by Nogi's army from Port Arthur, passed the line of the Shaho and, by a most skilful enveloping movement, took Mukden, March 10th. Over three-quarters of a million of men took part in this battle, in which the Japanese heavy artillery proved most effective. The Russian casualties were 90,000, and they lost 40,000 prisoners and a vast amount of artillery. But the Japanese lost so heavily that they could not prevent the retreat of the Russians.

By the end of March the Japanese had advanced one hundred miles north of Mukden and had achieved their object of driving the Russians out of Korea and Manchuria.

IV. The Baltic Fleet.

The Baltic Fleet, under Admiral Rozhdestvensky, was sent to relieve Port Arthur. On the night of October 21st, 1904, thinking they saw Japanese torpedo-boats, they bombarded for twenty minutes the Dogger Bank fishing fleet, killing two men. [Swedish, Norwegian, and German ships were also bombarded the same night.] For this the Emperor expressed regret, and heavy compensation was paid. The Baltic Fleet arrived in the Far East and was destroyed by Togo in the battle of Tsushima, May 27th-28th, 1905. The Japanese finally secured the command of the sea.

V. The Treaty of Portsmouth, August 29th, 1905.

Russia gave Japan the southern part of Saghalien and the Liao-Tong Peninsula; evacuated Manchuria, and acknowledged Japan's predominant influence in Korea.

VI. General.

The Japanese victory was due to the failure of the Russian Fleet ; to the excellent arrangements for transport and medical service made by the Japanese ; to the masterly strategy of Oyama and his able colleagues ; to the patriotic spirit and excellent discipline of the victors and the inefficiency of the Russian generals ; to the effect of the treaty with Great Britain. "Japan had been victorious because she had learnt from her German tutors that war is the business, not merely of the soldier or of the sailor, but of the nation as a whole."

Their success, following their victory over China in 1895, made the Japanese the leading power in the Far East, and by relieving them from the fear of attack gave an opportunity for commercial development of which they have taken full advantage.

The war greatly weakened the power and prestige of Russia, and thus exercised a profound influence on European politics. It was a distinct factor in the establishment of the *Triple Entente*¹ and in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria.²

References :

The Coming Power (M'Carthy), Hodder and Stoughton.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, chap. xix.

RUSSIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Russia continued her policy of extension in the Middle East,³ and the relations she established with Persia and Afghanistan led to serious differences with Great Britain which had incurred the hatred of Russia owing to her attitude at Berlin in 1878.

The policy of Russia in the Middle East was an attempt to punish Great Britain for her hostility and the question of the

¹ Page 78.

² Page 217.

³ For early developments, see *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 484.

North-East Frontier of India proved a serious problem for British statesmen.

But Nicholas II realised that the deserts of Persia, the mountains lying to the North-West of India and the power of Great Britain were serious obstacles. He saw that China was weak and that new railways would facilitate extension in the Far East. From 1894 he devoted his attention to China and the tension between Great Britain and Russia was lessened.

In 1907 the Convention between Great Britain and Russia led to the settlement of their difficulties in the Middle East.

I. The Caucasus.

The acquisition of Batoum and Kars by the Treaty of Berlin ¹ strengthened the hold of Russia on the Caucasus and brought Russia into contact with Persia.

II. Central Asia.

A. Afghanistan.

From about 1840 to 1869, when Lord Lawrence left India, the British Government had adopted a policy of masterly inactivity in Central Asia. But by 1869 the aggression of Russia had caused such concern that Lawrence advised that Russia "should be given to understand that it cannot be permitted to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan, or in those of any State which lies contiguous to our frontier." The British Government did not adopt his suggestion and refused, in 1873, to accept the offer of alliance made by Shere Ali.

1874. Russia informed Great Britain that she considered Afghanistan as "entirely beyond her sphere of action."

(1) The Treaty of Jacobabad, 1876.

December, 1876. Great Britain, perturbed by the continued Russian advance, having vainly endeavoured to persuade Shere Ali to receive a British resident, made with the Khan of Khelat the Treaty of Jacobabad

which gave her the right of garrisoning Quetta on the Afghan frontier.

(2) The Treaty of Gandamak, 1879.

May, 1879. By the Treaty of Gandamak Great Britain compelled Yakub Khan, the son of Shere Ali, to receive a British Embassy at Cabul and to allow Great Britain to direct his foreign policy.

September 3rd, 1879. Murder of Sir Louis Cavaignari, the British Agent at Cabul.

October, 1879. March of General Roberts to Cabul and General Stewart to Candahar.

1880. Defeat of Yakub Khan at Ahmed Kiel (April 19th) and of his brother Ayub at Mazra (September 1st).

Appointment of Abdur Rahman as ruler of Afghanistan as a buffer state in dependence on Great Britain.

(3) Pendjeh, 1885.

March, 1885. The Russians had seized Pendjeh, which was Afghan territory. Great Britain, hampered by difficulties in the Soudan, allowed Russia to keep Pendjeh but Abdur Rahman was allowed to keep the Zulfikar Pass. A serious blow to British prestige.

(4) The Convention of 1907.

Better relations were gradually established between Great Britain and Russia.

1887. British Baluchistan, including Quetta, was established.

1907. Russia recognised that Afghanistan fell within the British sphere of influence, and Afghanistan became a real buffer state between Great Britain and Russia.

B. Turkestan.

The extension of railways in Turkestan from the Caspian to Samarkand, from Merv to Afghanistan, brought the Russian railway system within four hundred

and fifty miles of India and helped the advance of Russia.

1873. Russian troops occupied Khiva and kept it in spite of Schuvaloff's assurance that the occupation was only temporary.

1881. Skobelev captured Denghil-Tepe and greatly strengthened Russian influence in Turkestan.

1884. The Russians seized Merv which, in 1882, they had declared to be "outside the sphere of Russian influence."

1887. A treaty fixed the Russian frontier on the Oxus and checked the advance towards Herat.

1895. The frontiers of the Pamirs, which Russia had annexed, were fixed by a Commission of Russians, British and Afghans.

C. Persia.

The River Volga facilitated the access of Russia to Northern Persia. Great Britain was more interested in Southern Persia.

1903. The foundation of the Bank of Persian Loans, in which Russia had large interests, and the control of the custom-houses of Northern Persia strengthened the influence of Russia.

1903. Lord Lansdowne declared that the establishment of a naval base on the Persian Gulf would be strongly resented by Great Britain.

August 31st, 1907. Russia and Great Britain agreed to respect the independence and integrity of Persia and recognised that Northern Persia, including Teheran and Ispahan, was a Russian sphere of influence and that Southern Persia, and particularly the coasts of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, was British.

[Thibet.—At the same time Russia and Great Britain agreed to abstain from intervention in Thibet.]

Reference :

Europe and Beyond (Marriott), Methuen, pp. 112-120.

SECTION V

AUSTRIA

AUSTRIA AFTER 1867

The *Ausgleich* of 1867¹ was a notable contribution to the attempt "to adapt the modern system of constitutional, and, finally, of parliamentary government to the Austrian monarchy despite its incongruities of tradition and race."

But the process of further adaptation was difficult. It involved the consolidation of the monarchy, the removal of traditional and national differences, the acceptance of "an Austrian or Austro-Hungarian policy, modern, territorial and popular."

I. Party Differences.

A. Federalists and Centralists.

(1) Federalists.

The Federalists advocated local government. They included Slavs, Roumanians, Italians and Poles who hoped that Federalism would enable them to maintain national institutions.

(2) Centralists.

The Centralists advocated common government under German officials and found their main support in the German population. But they were subdivided into the Catholic supporters of the old régime and a democratic anti-clerical element.

(3) Effect upon Politics.

a. The Franchise.

The problem of Federalism as against Centralism was affected by the question of the franchise. The law of 1873 weakened Federalism by ensuring that provinces would always

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 368.

be represented in the *Reichsrath*. The Law of 1896 added five and a half million electors to the electorate and strengthened the direct interest of the people in the *Reichsrath*.

b. The Delegations.

The Centralists demanded the suppression of the Delegations.¹

c. The Emperor.

Taaffe tended to support Centralisation owing to his determination to make the Emperor, governing through the bureaucracy, supreme in high policy "subject to the control, but not the compulsion" of the *Reichsrath*.

B. Nationality.

The problem of Nationality was the essential problem of Austria. Article Nineteen of the Constitutional Laws of 1867 had asserted that all nationalities were equal and had an equal right to the protection of the State. In practice the stronger nations tended to assert their supremacy over the weaker.

(1) Hungary.

In 1868 Hungary had made a Compromise which gave the Croats a measure of autonomy and the use of their own language. But the Magyars limited the application of this Compromise; Transylvania was incorporated into Hungary with the hearty good-will of the small Saxon minority of the inhabitants who feared the ascendancy of the Roumanian majority; the Magyars continued to assert their ascendancy partly because the German colonists scattered over the Hungarian plains, and the Germans and the Jews of the great cities lacked cohesion and did not unite against the Magyars.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 369.

(2) Croatia.

The Nationalists in Croatia resented the Compromise of 1868 which they regarded as a weak surrender to the Magyars, and, in 1872, compelled the Hungarian Government to appoint the President of the Croatian Diet as *Ban* of Croatia.

(3) The Slavs.

The Slavs steadily opposed the German element in Austria.

a. The Slovenes.

A Slovene national movement secured equality with the Germans for the Slovenes of Carniola and claimed it for those of Carinthia and Styria. The Slovenes gradually wrested from the Italians the predominance in Istria, Gradisca and Trieste.

b. The Czechs.

The Czechs of Bohemia persisted in their demand that Bohemia should be recognised as a separate State. But until 1879 the influence of the great landowners secured a majority for the German party.

c. The Ruthenes of Galicia.

The Poles had secured the predominance in Galicia where Polish nobles controlled the Diet. The Ruthenes, although Slavs, tended to an understanding with the German party in the hope that it would protect them against the Poles.

(4) Nationality and politics.

a. Local Nationalism.

In each country the Nationalist party tried to secure equality with German for the

national language in the courts, schools and administration. By claiming autonomy they supported the cause of Federalism.

b. Foreign policy.

Austrian foreign policy was profoundly affected by Nationalism.

(i) Germany.

The Hungarians favoured Germany. The refusal of Austria to intervene on behalf of France in the Franco-Prussian War and the Austro-German Alliance of 1879 were largely due to the influence of Hungary which desired an alliance which would secure for Austria the help of Germany against Russia without endangering Austrian independence.

The Pan-German party openly worked for the absorption of Austria in Germany. They gained considerable support in the elections of 1901, but the grant of universal suffrage, which enfranchised large numbers of non-Germans, practically swept away the movement.¹

(ii) Russia.

The defeat of Austria by Prussia in 1866² compelled Austria to look to the East for expansion and brought her into closer relations with the Slav states of the Balkans.

The completion of German unity complicated Austrian politics; there seemed a danger that the Germans of Austria, who formed a national Radical party, might support the new German Empire and the help of the Slav population was necessary to avert this danger.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XII, page 212.

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 385.

The Slavs generally, and particularly the Czechs who actively supported Pan-Slavism, were friendly towards Russia, the champion of the Slav cause, and strongly objected to the Austro-German Alliance.

They welcomed the occupation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina and supported the addition of these Slav states to Austria because it would strengthen the Slav element in the Austrian Empire. The Croatian Nationalist Party formed the idea of a new Slav state of Greater Croatia which should include Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia and Bosnia.

The differences between the German and Slav parties in Austria were one of the causes of the Great War of 1914.

C. Liberals and Conservatives.

The Liberals, in accordance with their general policy, endeavoured to secure the complete religious liberty which the *Ausgleich* guaranteed and thus came into opposition with the Catholics who wished to enforce the Concordat of 1855. They favoured the extension of constitutional and parliamentary government.

The Conservatives tended to support clerical and feudal privileges and favoured absolute rule.

D. Labour.

1869. The working men of Vienna, influenced by German Socialists, presented to the *Reichsrath* a petition for universal suffrage and freedom of meeting, of association and of the press.

A terrible financial crisis in 1873 paralysed the Socialist party and their cause was prejudiced by the anarchists who, in 1882, adopted a policy of Terrorism.

1897. As the result of universal suffrage fourteen Socialists were returned to the *Reichsrath*. Social and economic questions attracted more attention and, in 1907, the largest parties were, not Nationalist as hitherto, but economic; ninety-six members were Christian Socialists and eighty-seven Social Democrats.

E. General.

Austria after the *Ausgleich* had two political parties, Liberal and Conservative, and seven Nationalist parties (Czechs, Poles, Ruthenes, Slovenes, Italians, Croats and Roumanians), and these were split up into subdivisions. In consequence "there has never been in the *Reichsrath* a homogeneous majority composed of a single party. The majority has always been a coalition between parties."¹

II. The Emperor.

The personality of the Emperor Francis Joseph I was of great importance and his long reign saw many changes.

After 1867 he ruled as a constitutional sovereign but chose his ministers without reference to the majority in the *Reichsrath*. "The majority depended on the landowners, the landowners on the ministry and the ministry on the Emperor."²

The Emperor's divided interests prevented him from making a definite choice of party. His German sympathies and the interests of the Empire made him lean towards the Centralists; but the preponderance of Germany was contrary to the interests of his country. As an aristocrat he had much in common with the Federalists but he threw open to democracy the gates of public life. He was a devoted Catholic, but assented to the grant of religious privileges which broke the Concordat of 1855.³

¹ Seignobos.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 365.

His prudence and wisdom and his devotion to duty enabled him to render most valuable service to his country at a time of great difficulty, and to gain the affection of his people. Owing to his personal efforts the loyalty of his subjects to the Hapsburg dynasty was greatly strengthened.

THE *REICHSRATH*

I. General.

A. Election.

The *Reichsrath* was elected by the Provincial Diets and did not directly represent the people.

B. The Ministry.

Owing to complicated party divisions and subdivisions the ministry had to depend for support upon coalitions.

II. The Liberal Ministry, 1867-1870.

The Auersperg ministry was German and Liberal. It strongly supported the *Ausgleich* and carried on the government according to Liberal tradition.

A. Religion.

Laws were passed which practically abrogated the Concordat of 1855 by establishing civil marriage, giving the lay courts jurisdiction in marriage questions, recognising the right of the State to control and supervise education and giving every subject the right to choose his own religion.

The Pope condemned the new laws, which he declared to be "abominable."

B. Education.

1869. Primary education was reorganised and made compulsory.

C. The Army.

The ministry reorganised the army and established universal military service for three years.

D. Finance.

The finances were set in order by a process which involved partial repudiation of debts and the imposition of new taxes.

E. Nationality.

The ministry, which was strongly Centralist, fell because it failed to appreciate the strength of the Nationalist movement. The Czechs of Bohemia claimed that Bohemia should be recognised as a separate kingdom on the ground of traditional right and refused to sit in the *Reichsrath*. The Poles demanded national autonomy for Galicia.

The ministry refused to grant these demands and proclaimed a state of siege in Bohemia. The enemies of Centralism combined and compelled the ministry to resign. Federalism had triumphed over Centralisation.

III. Failure of Potoki.

1870. Potoki failed to settle the problem of the Slavs, which had become more acute because the Franco-Prussian War had ended any possibility of extending Austrian influence in Germany and compelled Austria to look for expansion to the Slavonic East.

IV. A Federalist Ministry, 1870-1871.

February, 1871. Hohenwart, a Conservative, favoured the extension of the power of the Diets and wished to give equal rights to all nationalities. The Czechs supported him in the hope of securing autonomy for Bohemia for which they claimed the same political privileges that Hungary enjoyed.

The Hungarians, alarmed at the spread of Pan-Slavism, insisted on the maintenance of the *Ausgleich* and strongly opposed Hohenwart's Federal schemes; they won the Emperor's support. Hohenwart resigned on October 27th, 1871.

V. Constitutional Ministries, 1871-1878.

The elections resulted in the establishment in power of the German constitutionalist party, in which the Liberals formed a majority; Czechs and Catholic deputies refused to sit in it although the Poles and Croats of Dalmatia supported the Liberals.

A. The Election Law of 1873.

April 2nd, 1873. Election to the *Reichsrath* was made direct and not, as hitherto, through the Diets. But the system of election by four *curiae* representing the landowners, chambers of commerce, cities and rural districts, which had hitherto been employed for the Diets, was now applied to the *Reichsrath*. In spite of the changes the German deputies constituted a large majority.

B. Religion.

1874. The May Laws finally overthrew the Concordat. They required bishops to report to civil authorities all vacancies that occurred in the Church and allowed non-Catholics to form their own churches.

C. Weakness of the Liberals.

The Liberals had been weakened by the financial crisis of 1873; the Catholics strongly resented the abolition of the Concordat; the lower middle class began to turn from Liberalism to clerical Conservatism; great animosity was felt towards the Jews, who were strong Liberals. The Emperor now returned to the

aristocratic Federalist party, and came to terms with the Czechs who no longer insisted on the independence of Bohemia. The Federalist "Hohenwart Club" grew stronger and persistently opposed the Liberals.

Largely owing to the influence of the Bohemian landholders the elections of 1878 placed the Liberals in a minority in the *Reichsrath*.

VI. Count Taaffe, August, 1879–October 1893.

Taaffe was determined to strengthen the authority of the Emperor, administering the country through a bureaucracy dependent on himself and subject only to limited control of the *Reichsrath*. "This system necessarily involved the depression of Parliament" and favoured the aristocratic Federalist-Catholic coalition.

But his long ministry was valuable because it accustomed the people to the working of the *Ausgleich*.

A. Nationality.

Taaffe, supported by Czechs, Poles and the Catholic Centre, who were strongly opposed to Liberalism, adopted a cautious Federal policy and made the *Reichsrath* a means of satisfying to some extent national aspirations.

(1) The Czechs.

1882. The University of Prague was divided into two divisions German and Czech.

1886. The Czech language was made of equal standing with German for official purposes.

Extreme Nationalists regarded these concessions as inadequate, but they averted any possibility of the Germanisation of Bohemia.

(2) Galicia.

The Ruthenes had depended upon the support of German Liberals against the Poles. Taaffe now handed over the government to the Polish aristocratic party.

(3) Carniola.

The Slovenes made Carniola a Slav province.

B. Reaction.

1883. A law was passed limiting admission to commerce and industry by making it depend upon membership of close corporations.

1883. Something was done to restore to the Catholics the rights they had formerly exercised over schools.

1884-1885. Martial law was enforced to check Anarchists.

C. The Fall of Taaffe's Ministry.

(1) Development of popular agitation.

a. The Young Czechs.

The Old Czechs had been content to follow the lead of the nobility. The new party of the Young Czechs were Radicals and insisted on the independence of Bohemia, which the Old Czechs no longer demanded. The Young Czechs demanded universal suffrage, favoured the cause of Labour and supported its programme with considerable violence.

1891. The Young Czechs secured all the Bohemian seats in the *Reichsrath*.

b. The Social Democrats.

A Social Democratic Party was formed which advocated universal suffrage and, from **1890 to 1892**, organised demonstrations in favour of an eight-hours' day.

c. The Anti-Semites.

The Anti-Semites showed their hostility to the Jews by riots and a violent newspaper campaign.

(2) Taaffe's policy.

Taaffe, alarmed by the spread of violence, tried to maintain his position by securing the help of the Old Czechs and the Germans but failed.

He attempted to put down disorder in Bohemia by proclaiming martial law, suspending trial by jury and freedom of the press.

Finally he brought forward a scheme of electoral reform which, he hoped, would completely change the condition of political life in Austria.

The opposition of Germans and Conservatives to this policy led to the fall of Taaffe. But he had committed the Government to electoral reform.

VII. Electoral Reform.

June, 1896. The ministry of Count Badeni brought in a new measure of electoral reform which established a fifth *Curia*, which included all Austrian citizens over twenty-four to the number of 5,500,000 and returned seventy-two deputies to the *Reichsrath*.

Thus universal suffrage had been established but the four older *curiae*, which numbered 1,700,000 electors, returned 353 deputies and the new arrangement failed to settle the economic and national struggles to meet which Taaffe had introduced his scheme.

For References, see page 300.

HUNGARY

Deak¹ had made Hungary into a modern state, established on the basis of Dualism. The later development of Hungary was due largely to Koloman Tisza who, in 1875, united his own followers and those of Deak into a Liberal Party; he remained in office until 1890.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 368.

I. Magyarisation.

The Magyars numbered about 6,000,000 out of 16,000,000 inhabitants of Hungary, but their own union, their experience of government, the favour of the Emperor and the divisions of other races which consisted mainly of peasants, made them the dominant factor in the country. They strongly supported Tisza, who adopted a policy of Magyarisation which involved the assimilation of other nationalities.

A. The Extension of Magyar Influence.

(1) Language.

The Government made Magyar the official language for the government, secondary schools, administration, the law courts, the town council of Buda-Pesth and the railways.

(2) The Army.

Although the army was at first imperial the *Honveds*, or militia, were almost entirely Hungarian.

1889. The Austrian army, hitherto "the Imperial Army," was styled "The Imperial and Royal Army."

1907. New regimental flags were issued which involved the sovereignty of Hungary; only Hungarian officers were to command Hungarian regiments.

(3) Other races.

a. Transylvania.

1867. Transylvania was incorporated into Hungary. The population was mainly Roumanian; a German colony of 200,000 Saxons welcomed the union through fear of the Roumanian majority.

B. Croatia.

The Croats were the most serious opponents of Magyarisation.

(1) The Compromise, 1868.

The Compromise made between Hungary and Croatia recognised Croatia-Slavonia as a self-governed state possessing its own Diet which exercised the right of legislation, its own Croatian national language, its own governor—the *Ban*, its own capital—Agram.

But the "common affairs" of the two states, and particularly questions of commerce and communication, were dealt with by Croatian delegates in the Hungarian Diet and by a Croatian member of the Hungarian Ministry.

(2) Nationalism.

Although the Hungarians manipulated the elections in their own interests the Nationalist Party in Croatia grew stronger.

1872. The Nationalists compelled the Hungarians to appoint the President of the Croatian Diet as *Ban*.

(3) The demand for separation.

1878. The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which Croat was the national language, and the growth of Pan-Slavism greatly strengthened the Nationalist Party who demanded the establishment of a Greater Croatia, independent of Hungary and united to Austria only by common subjection to the Emperor. This demand meant the substitution of Trialism for Dualism.

The Nationalist movement led to anti-Magyar riots at Agram in 1883, to violent disturbances in the Diet in 1885 and to the burning of the Magyar flag during the Emperor's visit to Agram in 1895. "The recollection of these conflicts gave to Hungarian and Croatian relations, in spite of their superficial correctness, a sense of hostility and insecurity."¹

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XII, page 198.

The Hungarians therefore tended to oppose Pan-Slavism and warmly supported the alliance made with Germany in 1879.

II. The Economic Compromise.

By the *Ausgleich* of 1867 Austria assumed responsibility for two-thirds of the expenditure and most of the debt of the Austrian Empire. The Economic Compromise was renewable every ten years.

Austria hoped that these financial arrangements would make her the predominant member especially as she was the best customer and chief creditor of Hungary. But Hungary gradually strengthened her position. She soon gained a considerable interest in the National Bank, which was called the Austro-Hungarian and not the Austrian Bank as hitherto; a new fiscal tariff improved her financial position.

1907. When the Economic Compromise was renewed it took the form of an international treaty which provided that the independence of Hungary should be fully recognised in any future commercial treaties and the Austrian market should be thrown open to her loans. Commercial freedom was established between Austria and Hungary. This statesmanlike measure greatly improved the relations between Austria and Hungary.

III. Religion.

Although most of the Magyars were Catholic, the Protestants, of whom Tisza was one, were influential, and strongly demanded religious equality.

1893. Civil marriage was instituted and lay civil registration made compulsory for all; religious liberty was established; the Jews received full legal rights.

These laws weakened the influence of the priests who had often used their position to oppose Magyarisation.

IV. The Suffrage.

The Independent Party, which opposed the *Ausgleich*, became the largest party in the Hungarian Diet in 1905

and the support of the Catholics gave it a majority. The idea of universal suffrage was adopted in the hope that, without impairing the Magyar supremacy, the extension of the franchise would win such support from non-Magyars for the *Ausgleich* as would enable Dualism to continue.

V. General.

Hungary prospered greatly from 1867 to 1906. The acquisition of the railroads by the Government and the adoption of the zone tariff in 1889 promoted the development of internal commerce and gave Hungary control of the commercial routes to the East.

In 1870 the influence of Hungary helped to prevent Austria from joining France against Germany. Partly owing to the strength of Tisza's ministry Hungary became more and more the predominant element in the Empire.

"Since 1906 electoral reform has been accomplished in Austria and promised to Hungary beyond recall; the Economic Compromise has at length been renewed, and for the first time [in 1907] to the equal satisfaction of both States; external policy has been revived and reinvigorated by a bold offensive in the East . . . which, by forming new ties of mutual interest between the two States and by exposing them to common dangers, has strengthened the feeling of solidarity and brought them together." ¹

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, chap. vii.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Seignobos), Heinemann, chap. xvii.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XII, page 207.

SECTION VI

ITALY

THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT, 1871-1896

I. Political Conditions.

In the Parliament which was opened at Rome on Nov. 27th, 1871, there were only two effective parties, the Right Centre and the Left Centre. Both were constitutional and loyal to the monarchy. The success of the Right in completing the national union on constitutional lines had greatly weakened both the Extreme Right, which favoured Absolutism, and the Extreme Left, which was Republican. Most of the Piedmontese and deputies from the Centre generally supported the Right; the deputies from the South, together with some Lombards who resented the transference of the capital from Turin to Florence, tended to support the Left; the Tuscan deputies resented the financial crisis caused in Florence when for a short time she had been the capital.

The Catholics, in obedience to the Pope's orders that they were to be neither "electors nor elected," abstained from politics. The Socialists, although gradually becoming more powerful in the great cities of the North, as yet counted for nothing in the Parliament.

The task of Parliament was difficult. It had to put into effect the centralised administration which had been established in Italy¹; to deal with foreign policy; to settle the difficulties that arose from the absolute refusal of the Pope to accept the Law of the Guarantees²; to reorganise the embarrassed finances; to improve the economic condition of the country; to check brigandage.

II. The *Consorteria*, 1861-1876.

The *Consorteria*, or club, was the name of the ministries of the Right which held office from 1861 to 1876.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 458.

² *Ibid.*, page 466.

A. Finance.

They were faced with a deficit of about £58,000,000 and attempted to improve the financial position.

1869. They established the grist tax, the unpopular "tax on hunger."

1874. They extended the tobacco monopoly to Sicily.

1868-1876. They sold secularised lands to the value of about £20,000,000.

1876. They introduced a scheme for the State purchase of railways.

B. Religion.**(1) The Law of the Guarantees, 1871.**

The Law recognised the Pope as an independent sovereign and acknowledged his absolute spiritual authority ; gave him the right to appoint bishops and to issue Bulls ; abolished the bishops' oath to the King ; made the Pope an allowance of £129,000 per annum ; assigned to him the Vatican and Lateran palaces.

But Pius IX, partly owing to the pressure of the French Clerical Party, refused to accept these terms or to recognise the Italian Government. He withdrew to the Vatican and declared himself "morally a prisoner."

(2) Anti-clerical measures.

1873. The Government secularised Roman Catholic convents.

C. Military Service.

Compulsory military service of the Prussian type was instituted.

D. The fall of the *Consorteria*.

Minghetti, the Chief Minister from **1873 to 1876**, tried to balance the budget. But the Italians were tired of the long supremacy of the *Consorteria* and the grist tax was detested.

March 18th, 1876. Owing largely to the union of Southern and Tuscan members the ministry was defeated on a motion condemning the grist tax.

III. The Supremacy of the Left, 1876-1887.

The Left now formed the majority in the Chamber. It was regarded as radical but was loyal to the monarchy; it relied upon the steady support of the South and with its accession the Government of Italy passed from the North to the South. It was democratic and anti-clerical.

Depretis, a Sicilian who had acted as Pro-Dictator for Garibaldi in Sicily, became President of the Council and held office with some interruptions until 1887. He promised to maintain the Law of Guarantees and to assert the supreme authority of the civil government; to uphold the freedom of conscience, public meeting and of the press; to abolish the grist tax and reform the finances; to extend the franchise, to promote education and to develop the railways.

A. Legislation.

(1) Finance.

1884. Abolition of the grist tax.

(2) Electoral Reform.

1882. The number of voters was raised from 627,000 to 2,048,000. Votes were given to those who paid taxes to the annual amount of about sixteen shillings or had taken the full course in primary schools. Universal suffrage was not introduced because it was feared that the illiterate peasants would vote in accordance with the wishes of the landowners who tended to support the Right.

(3) Education.

1877. Elementary education was made compulsory for children between the ages of six and nine.

B. The *Transformismo*.

The Left, united in opposition, soon split up into factions. Depretis, Crispi, Cairoli and Zanardelli contended for the Presidency of the Council. Depretis chose his ministers from the heads of factions and "elaborated the shameless promiscuity of alliances known as *transformismo*"; politics became utterly corrupt and few of Depretis' promises were fulfilled. The old difference between the Right and Left practically disappeared; the ministry were those faction leaders who had gained office, the leaders of the opposition were those who had not.

In consequence the personal influence of the King was greatly increased; he chose his own ministers according to the requirements of foreign rather than domestic policy.

[January 9th, 1878. Death of Victor Emmanuel II.
Accession of Humbert.

February 15th, 1878. Death of Pope Pius IX.

February 20th, 1878. Election of Pope Leo XIII.]

C. Republicanism and Socialism.

Republican agitation spread, especially in Rome and Milan. Depretis abandoned his policy of reform to defend the constitution and national monarchy against the Republicans and received the support of the Right Centre.

He strongly opposed Socialism, which was spreading in the large towns, and dissolved workmen's clubs.

D. The Fall of Depretis.

1887. The failure of the Abyssinian expedition¹ greatly weakened Depretis and led to the ministry of Crispi.

July 1887. Death of Depretis.

¹ Page 318.

IV. Crispi.

Crispi, one of Garibaldi's Thousand, had opposed the alliance of the House of Savoy with Napoleon III. He now steadily supported the monarchy against the Republicans and Socialists, checked the *Irredentists*¹ and, as Leo XIII had refused the offers of peace made by Depretis, adopted an anti-clerical policy.

A. Crispi's First Administration, 1887-1891.

(1) Religion.

1889. Any servant of the church who criticised the Government became liable to one year's imprisonment.

(2) The Army.

Crispi, in spite of the heavy expense it involved, refused to weaken the army.

(3) Republicanism.

He used the police to check the spread of Republicanism and, in February, 1888, put down by force demonstrations of unemployed in Rome.

January 31st, 1891. Fall of Crispi's first ministry.

B. The Interval between Crispi's two periods of office.

(1) The Right, 1891.

January, 1891. Formation of a Ministry of the Right under Rudini.

This ministry irritated the court by proposing to reduce the Army and proved unable to deal with continued disorder in Rome.

¹ Page 316.

(2) The Left, 1892.

May, 1892, to November, 1892. Giolitti, the new Premier, tried to create a Liberal and monarchical party opposed to the anti-dynastic Extreme Left. But his ministry fell because some of its members were implicated in the illegal issue of notes by the Roman Bank.

C. Crispi, 1893-1896.

(1) Opposition to Republicans and Socialists.

Crispi now took strong measures to support the monarchy against the growing power of Republicans and Socialists. "Let us press close about the King, who is the symbol of unity." Under Crispi "the old democratic Left has adopted the old absolute methods to stop the progress of the new democracy."

January, 1894. Owing to bread riots, stirred up by *fasci* or labour organisations, Sicily was placed under martial law and Socialist leaders were tried by military courts.

October, 1894. All Socialist societies were suppressed.

The right of public meeting was restricted and the liberty of the press limited in Italy.

Crispi's policy of ruthless repression led to the secret spread of Socialistic doctrines.

(2) Interference with elections.

July 11th, 1894. About one quarter of the electors were deprived of their votes on the ground of hostility to the Government.

(3) Fall of Crispi.

Crispi had practically established a dictatorship but the defeat of the Italians at Adowa¹ led to his fall in March, 1896.

¹ Page 319.

INTERNAL HISTORY SINCE 1896

The ministries which succeeded Crispi's proved unstable. Four Cabinets held office between March, 1896, and June, 1898.

I. Labour.

Socialism continued to spread. The *Riformisti* advocated reform by constitutional methods; the *Intransigenti* wished to abolish capitalism altogether; the *Sindacalisti*, founded about 1900, favoured revolutionary methods.

The Socialists had thirty-three deputies in the Chamber in 1903, and polled 316,790 votes and secured twenty-seven deputies in 1904. Their main strength lay in the North, particularly in the valley of the Po, but they gained some ground in Naples and the South.

A. Repression.

1898. Owing to lack of food caused by bad harvests and high tariffs, bread riots broke out in the Marches and Naples; the mob seized Florence for one day.

May 7th, 1898. At least eighty-two civilians were killed and many wounded by the troops sent to repress disorder in Milan.

Thirty provinces were placed under martial law; Socialist and Republican societies were suppressed.

1899. A Royal Decree authorised the police to stop public meetings and the Government to suppress any societies which they regarded as dangerous. This unconstitutional Royal Decree was withdrawn on April 5th, 1900, but the prestige of the monarchy was seriously impaired by the action of the reactionary party.

July 29th, 1900. Assassination of King Humbert by an anarchist at Monza.

B. Remedial Legislation.

February, 1901. The Zanardelli-Giolitti Ministry were sympathetic to Labour and Giolitti desired to show "that political liberty and social reform were compatible with loyalty to the House of Savoy." But the heavy cost of armaments and the weighty burden of taxation prevented the Government from introducing costly measures of reform.

The refusal of the Government to suppress strikes that did not break the law led to a great increase in the number of strikes throughout the country both among industrial and agricultural workers.

But good work was done by the improvement of the Employers' Liability and Factory Acts, the creation of a Maternity Fund, the abolition of octroi dues on bread, and the permission given to the Banks of Naples and Sicily to facilitate the creation of agricultural societies.

C. The General Strike of 1904.

September 16th, 1904. Formation of a Committee of Resistance which proclaimed a general strike.

September 17th, 1904. The strike caused serious disturbances and grave inconvenience to all citizens in the industrial towns of the North, particularly Milan and Turin.

The grave danger to the community roused the middle class; the Pope for the first time allowed Catholics to take an active part in politics, and, largely owing to the Catholic vote, the Socialists and Republicans were utterly routed in the next elections.

1905. Fortis Bill authorising the State to acquire the railways and denying railwaymen the right to strike was carried by a large majority.

D. Sonnino, 1906.

Baron Sonnino adopted a programme of social and industrial reform including the improvement of education and means of communication.

E. General.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the formation of a Catholic party which favoured orderly Conservatism and the organisation of constitutional Socialism have tended to mitigate the danger of anarchy and to promote the cause of Reform.

II. Finance and Industry.

The lack of coal and iron ; the heavy cost of adapting the new centralised system of administration ; military expenditure which doubled between 1871 and 1906 ; naval expenditure which increased sixfold in the same period ; the cost of colonial expeditions and the late development of industry, are some of the causes which have laid a crushing burden of taxation on Italy. As taxation is largely indirect the burden has fallen very heavily upon the poorer classes and necessitated a low standard of living.

But the beginning of the present century saw a distinct improvement, partly owing to the end of a tariff war with France. [The conclusion of commercial treaties with Germany and Austria and the development of hydro-electric power have led to a marked improvement in the finances of Italy, especially since 1900.

A. Debt Conversion.

June 29th, 1906. A Bill, due largely to Luzzatti, reduced the interest on the National Debt immediately from 4 per cent. to 3·75, and ultimately to 3·50. It saved the treasury £800,000 a year at once and £1,600,000 later.

B. Exports and Imports.

The total value of Exports and Imports rose from £93,790,000 in 1872 to £193,181,500 in 1907.

C. Co-operative Banking.

Co-operative banks increased from 64 in 1871 to 832 in 1906.

D. Manufactures.

Since 1892 manufactures have increased threefold and the development of the silk, cotton and steel trades has been remarkable. The increasing use of hydro-electric power has promoted industrial development.

III. Agriculture.

Agriculture remains the chief industry, particularly in the South. But the lack of great rivers south of Rome, the extent of mountain land, earthquakes and fever seriously impeded agricultural development.

A. Difficulties in Naples and Sicily.

The South, and particularly Sicily, in which the Saracens and Normans had played a great part, was different in race from the Teutonic North. It was unfitted for constitutional government and the new system worked badly.

The South, particularly the Basilicata and Calabria, was poverty stricken. The peasants were illiterate and lacked capital, the extension of railways had increased competition and seriously injured the trade in lemons and oranges; great estates owned by absentee landlords were grossly mismanaged; the road system was inadequate; taxation proved a crushing burden and both central and local administration were corrupt. The *Camorra* and *Mafia* added to the insecurity of life and property.

Owing to these reasons emigration had increased. In 1906 about 18,000 emigrated from the Basilicata out of a population of about 500,000.

B. Remedial Measures.

1904. Beginning of the Apulian aqueduct.

1904. The exemption of Neapolitan territory from duties on raw material had led to the development of manufactures in the South.

1906. Sonnino's famous Law provided for the reduction of the land tax, the development of agricultural banks and the exemption of peasants from the cattle tax. It was intended specially to relieve the appalling distress in the South.

IV. The Papacy.

The relations between the Papacy and the monarchy improved, and, although the Popes persisted in their claim to temporal power, they have individually been on friendly terms with the Kings of Italy.

(1) Politics.

1905. By the encyclical *Il Fermo Proposito* Catholics were bidden to take a share in political life although, in **1906**, the priests were ordered to conduct their political and social work in accordance with the instructions of their bishops.

(2) Modernism.

The Papacy continued strongly to oppose Modernism and the syllabus *Lamentabili*, **1907**, urged the Bishops to suppress Modernist teaching in schools and the press.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, chap. ix.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Seignobos), Heinemann, chap. xi.

New Italy (Zimmern and Agresti), Constable.

ITALIAN FOREIGN POLICY

“The prevailing tendency of Italian diplomacy since 1870 has been towards alliance with Germany.”¹

I. France.

A. Hostility.

(1) France and the Pope.

The Right, representing Northern Italy, which had been delivered from Austria largely owing to the intervention of Napoleon III, favoured alliance with France. The Left, consisting mainly of Sicilian, Neapolitan and Roman deputies, inclined towards Germany owing to the support given by France to the Pope.²

The Franco-German War promoted the cause of Italian unity.

August 19th, 1870. The French troops, which had been sent to support the Pope, were withdrawn from Civita Vecchia for service against Prussia, but as late as October 13th, 1874, a French frigate remained at Civita Vecchia to help the Pope if necessary.

1877. The defeat of the Clerical Ultramontane Party by Gambetta³ removed the danger of French intervention on behalf of the Pope and lessened the antagonism between France and Italy.

(2) The Mediterranean.

France viewed with alarm the attempt of Italy to build up a strong navy which might weaken French influence in the Mediterranean.

May 12th, 1881. By the Treaty of Bardo,⁴ France, which had secured the previous consent of Germany

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XII, page 239.

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 460.

³ Page 5.

⁴ Page 59.

and Great Britain, established a Protectorate in Tunis. The Italians strongly resented the action of France; the Cairoli Ministry was overthrown and the prestige of the monarchy was impaired.

B. Improved Relations.

Since 1898 the relations between France and Italy have greatly improved and the Italian people have come to feel that they are more in sympathy with democratic France than with Germany.

1896. Italy recognised the French protectorate in Tunis.

1898. End of the tariff war between the two countries.

December 1901. An agreement was made defining the interests of both countries in the Mediterranean and France recognised the right of Italy to extend her influence in Tripoli.

June 4th, 1902. Italy, a few days before the renewal of the Triple Alliance, assured France that it did not bind her to take part in a war of aggression against France.

November 1st, 1902. France and Italy agreed that if one was attacked the other should remain neutral.

1904. President Loubet was warmly welcomed at Rome.

1906. Italy supported France at the Conference of Algeiras.¹

II. The Triple Alliance.²

A. Italy and Austria.

Largely owing to the fear that the French Ultramontane Party would try to restore the temporal power of the Pope, the Left determined to make an alliance with Germany.

¹ Page 68.

² For further details, see page 73.

But Gambetta's success removed the danger from France and the Dual Alliance of 1879 bound Germany closely to Austria, the old enemy of Italian unity and freedom. Austria strongly resented the efforts of the *Irredentists* who, in November, 1877, started a secret movement to "redeem" from Austria the Tyrol, Trieste and other "unredeemed" Austrian territory of the Adriatic. The Cairoli ministry (1878-1881) did not check the *Irredentist* movement.

1882. Formation of Oberdank clubs in memory of Oberdank, a student of Trieste who had plotted to assassinate the Emperor of Austria.

B. The Triple Alliance,¹ 1882.

The establishment of the French Protectorate in Tunis led Depretis, the Minister of the Left, to conclude the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria on May 20th, 1882. Crispi strongly supported the Triple Alliance; he checked the *Irredentists* and, in 1890, suppressed the Oberdank clubs.

C. Italian Interests.

By the Triple Alliance Italy secured the support of Germany against French attack and the renunciation by Austria of any claim on her old Italian possessions; she secured important advantages which enabled her to improve her financial position, extend her commerce and strengthen her army and navy.

But her adherence to the Triple Alliance was not wholehearted. The Triple Alliance was "tacitly accepted but not loved" in Italy.

(1) Great Britain.¹

The traditional friendship between Italy and Great Britain continued and, on February 12th, 1887, Great Britain and Italy agreed—

¹ Page 73.

- a. To maintain, if possible, the *status quo* in the Mediterranean, Adriatic, Aegean and Black Seas.
- b. To support each other in the Mediterranean if either went to war with another Power.
- c. Italy agreed to support the policy of Great Britain in Egypt; Great Britain to support the policy of Italy in Northern Africa and particularly in Tripoli.

(2) France.

The friendly relations established with France and the help given by Italy to France at Algeiras were inconsistent with absolute loyalty to the Triple Alliance.

(3) Austria.

Although the *Irredentist* movement was checked new causes of difference arose owing to the policy of Austria in the Balkans which involved the problem of the control of the Adriatic. The danger that Austria would obtain Albania and secure Valona, which commanded the Straits of Otranto, caused alarm in Italy; Austria resented the desire of Italy to secure Albania.

Both countries agreed to maintain the *status quo* in Albania, but each attempted to strengthen its influence by more or less underhand methods.

The outbreak of anti-Austrian riots in Italy and the construction of the Austrian railway through the Sandjak of Novi Bazar, which tapped the commerce of Albanian ports, added to the ill-feeling between Austria and Italy.

Thus "from 1902 to 1914 Italy had a foot in both camps and found it increasingly difficult to reconcile her obligations to the Triple Alliance with her inclinations and promises towards the *Triple Entente*." ¹

¹ Lodge and Horn, *A History of Modern Europe*, Murray, page 423.

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT

I. Abyssinia.

Italy was protected in Europe by the Triple Alliance.

1884. Great Britain, which was finding that France and the Mahdi were adding to her difficulties in Egypt, suggested that the occupation by Italy, her old friend, of some territory on the Red Sea would be welcomed. Depretis, therefore, wishing to get compensation for the establishment of a French protectorate in Tunis, adopted an active colonial policy which Crispi continued.

A. The Invasion of Abyssinia.

1885. Occupation of Massowah on the Red Sea by Italy. Although the evacuation of the Soudan by Great Britain was a serious blow, the Italians endeavoured to advance inland from Massowah.

January 25th, **1887.** An Italian battalion was exterminated at Dogali. An army of 20,000 men, sent to continue operations, proved unsuccessful and was recalled.

B. Menelik.

May 2nd, **1889.** Menelik, who secured the crown in **1889**, largely owing to the support of Italy, made the Treaty of Accialli which the Italians thought established an Italian Protectorate over Abyssinia.

December 31st, **1893.** Defeat of the dervishes at Agordat and, July 19th, **1894**, at Kassala.

C. Adowa, **1896.**

Crispi, encouraged by these successes, sent General Baratieri to occupy the province of Tigri. Menelik, who resented the claim of Italy to interfere with his foreign policy, determined to resist, and was supported by

France which refused to recognise the Italian protectorate because it threatened the French settlements at Djibouti. Great Britain, welcoming Italy as an ally against France and the Mahdi, made, in 1891, with Italy agreements which defined the spheres of influence of the two countries in North-East Africa.

March 1st, 1896. Utter rout of Baratieri's army of 20,000 men by 80,000 Abyssinians at Adowa.

D. End of the War.

1896. By the Treaty of Addis Abeba Italy abandoned all claim to suzerainty over Abyssinia and gave up her attempt to form an "Empire of Eritrea."

The Abyssinian War, undertaken in defiance of the strong warning of Lord Cromer, was ill-conceived and mismanaged. It led to the fall of Crispi and added about £7,000,000 to the National Debt of Italy.

[1905. Italy established a Protectorate in Somali-land.]

II. Tripoli.

The desire of Italy to acquire Tripoli had won the approval of Great Britain in 1887 in return for the support of Italy in Egypt; of Germany in 1887 as a condition of the renewal of the Triple Alliance; of Austria in 1902; of France in 1902 in return for recognition of the French Protectorate in Tunis; and of Russia in 1909 on condition that Italy agreed to the extension of Russian influence in the Straits.

A. The Outbreak of War.

(1) The Young Turks.

Italy had steadily increased her influence in Tripoli. The Young Turks, who had carried out the revolution of 1908,¹ determined to check her and serious friction arose.

¹ Page 205.

(2) Successes of other countries.

Austria had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908; Germany was negotiating with the Young Turks for a lease of Cyrenaica and seemed likely either to establish her authority in Morocco or to get compensation elsewhere.

(3) Agadir.

The Agadir crisis made it essential that Germany should maintain her friendship with Italy, although Italy was on hostile terms with the Young Turks who were friendly to Germany.

Italy determined to use her opportunity. She demanded from Turkey the power to occupy Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

September 29th, 1911. Italy declared war on Turkey.

B. The War.

Although Hotzendorff urged Austria to take up arms against Italy the Triple Alliance prevented Austria from intervening and Italy promised not to interfere in the Balkans. The *Triple Entente* approved of the action of Italy but Great Britain and France remained neutral.

(1) The coast towns of Tripoli.

The Italians easily captured the coast towns, including Tripoli and Homs, but the Turks and Arabs kept them from securing the interior.

(2) Naval war.

The Italians, prevented by their promise from interfering in the Balkans, used their fleet against Turkey.

April 18th, 1912. The Italians bombarded the entrance to the Dardanelles.

May, 1912. The Italians seized Rhodes.

(3) Derna.

September, 1912. The Italians routed Enver Bey at Derna.

C. The Peace of Lausanne, 1912.

Austria and Germany, alarmed by the formation of the Balkan League, urged Turkey to submit.

(1) Terms.

October 18th, 1912. By the Treaty of Lausanne, Tripoli and Cyrenaica were ceded to Italy, which undertook to restore the Dodecanese Archipelago to Turkey when she had evacuated Tripoli.

(2) Criticism.

The war roused the fighting spirit of the Turks, embittered the relations between Greece and Italy, and by causing strong resentment against Italy in both Germany and Austria further weakened the Triple Alliance.

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Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, pp. 239-242.

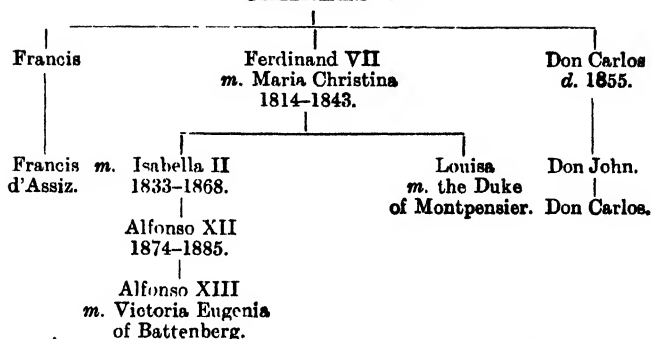
A History of Modern Europe (Lodge and Horn), Murray, pp. 468-470.

SECTION VII

THE LESSER STATES

SPAIN

CHARLES IV



I. The Republic, February, 1873, to December, 1874.

February 12th, 1873. Following the abdication of Amadeus the Cortes proclaimed a Republic and inaugurated a period of confusion and anarchy.

A. Contending Parties.

(1) The Royalists.

The Royalists wished to make Alfonso, the son of Isabella II, who had abdicated in 1868, King of Spain. Failure of General Gaminde's attempt to induce the army of Catalonia to support Alfonso.

(2) The Carlists.

The disorder in Spain encouraged the Carlists to rise again. Don John, the head of the party, was inclined to support constitutional principles. He resigned the leadership, which was secured by his eldest son Don Carlos.

July 17th, 1873. Don Carlos returned to Spain and established himself in Navarre and the Basque provinces where he gathered a regular army of 45,000 men which was supplied with arms from France. He was supported by the clergy. The Carlists carried on guerilla warfare in Catalonia and Valencia.

The Carlists made a mistake in tactics ; they should either have made a resolute advance or waited until internal disorder made Spain an easy prey. They did neither.

(3) Federalism.

There was a strong movement towards Federalism, but differences arose between those who advocated a federation of the old historic provinces and the *Cantonals*, who wished to divide Spain into many federal states of which the Canton was to be the unit. *Cantonalist* risings took place at Seville, Cadiz, Granada and Cartagena ; at Cartagena the fleet revolted ; the *Cantonals* refused to pay taxes to the central government at Madrid.

(4) The Army.

The army, destined to prove the deciding factor, was divided. The soldiers welcomed the Republic which they thought meant the abolition of compulsory service ; the officers tended to oppose the Republic because they thought that compulsory service was essential for the maintenance of the army.

Many soldiers deserted ; the army was too weak to maintain order ; Socialism increased in the towns and agricultural Socialists caused serious disturbances in the South.

B. The Cortes.

The Republican leaders, who were not practical politicians, proved quite unable to deal with the crisis.

(1) The Republican leaders.

Figueras, the first President, was soon succeeded by Pi y Margall, a Federalist, who failed to restore order.

a. Salmeron.

Under President Salmeron, a Unitarian Republican, General Pavia strengthened the army and routed the *Cantonalists* of Seville. But Salmeron, fearing military rule, prevented Pavia from completing his task and resigned on September 7th, 1873.

b. Castelar.

President Castelar saw that order could be restored only by strong measures. He raised an army by conscription and crushed the *Cantonalists*, but his vigorous action frightened the Cortes.

January 3rd, 1874. General Pavia dispersed the Cortes and the army practically assumed the government.

c. Serrano.

The restoration of Don Alfonso was now inevitable for every other course had failed. Serrano established a military dictatorship and checked the Carlists, while Canovas, the leading supporter of Alfonso, worked for a restoration.

(2) The Restoration.

December, 1874. Don Alfonso, who was over sixteen and therefore of age, issued a proclamation, which Canovas had drawn up, promising constitutional government and an amnesty.

December 24th, 1874. General Martinez Campos proclaimed Don Alfonso at Murviedro and the support of the army ensured his accession.

II. Alfonso XII, 1874-1885.

The position of Alfonso XII was strengthened by the support of moderate Carlists and Republicans and by the desire of the people for a government which could keep order.

The Pope, who had recognised Don Carlos as King Carlos VII, was induced to acknowledge Alfonso XII by concessions to the Church. Civil marriage was abolished; the grant made by the State to the Church was increased thirtyfold; Protestant schools were closed.

A. The Constitution of 1876.

The military rule continued until January 1876 when the Cortes met again and drew up a new constitution.

(1) Religion.

Roman Catholicism was declared the national religion and was to be supported by the Church. But "no one is to be disturbed on account of his religious opinions, nor for the form of his worship, provided he does not violate the respect due to Christian morality."

The Pope strongly objected to the toleration of religions other than Catholic.

(2) The Constitution.

A Liberal constitutional monarchy with a Cortes of two houses and a responsible ministry was established.

(3) Parties.

Most of the deputies were divided into two constitutional parties. The Conservatives were supported by the clergy and aristocracy and were led by Canovas; the Liberals wished to restore civil marriage and the liberty of the press and to establish universal suffrage.

The Republican party found its main strength in the North East. It was greatly weakened by the restoration of Alfonso XII and was soon further weakened by its division into three sections, the Socialist Federalists under Pi y Margall, democratic

Progressists who advocated revolution, and *Possibilists* under Castelar who decided to accept the monarchy.

B. The Carlists.

1875. The Carlists were driven out of Catalonia and Valencia.

1876. The Carlists were finally defeated in Biscay and a Royalist army of occupation was sent to the Basque provinces.

1876. The Cortes abolished the *fueros*, the special privileges enjoyed by the Basques, asserted the principle of the constitutional unity of Spain and required all to obey Spanish laws. But some measure of local administration was left to the Basque provinces.

The Carlist party continued to exist but was too feeble to exert much influence.

C. General.

Under Alfonso XII Spain enjoyed internal peace and some measure of prosperity. The wine trade flourished, partly because phylloxera ravaged French vineyards; the mines of Biscay were developed by English capitalists and engineers; roads and railways were constructed and irrigation assisted agriculture.

But Alfonso was unpopular. His court was the scene of grave scandals. His attempt to establish friendship with Germany in the interests of Spain irritated France, the best customer of Spain, and was unpopular with his own subjects especially when, in 1885, a dispute arose with Germany about the Caroline Islands.

III. Alfonso XIII, 1886.

On the death of Alfonso XII his widow, Maria Christina of Austria, who was expecting a child, was made Regent. May 17th, 1886. Birth of Alfonso XIII.

A. Cuba and the Philippines.**(1) General conditions in Cuba.**

Cuba had been shamefully misgoverned by Spain and had been in a state of revolt from 1868 to 1878. Since then conditions had changed.

1886. The abolition of slavery without compensation alienated the sugar planters who were seriously impoverished by the fall in the price of sugar.

1878-1895. The amount of American capital invested in Cuba had doubled.

Largely owing to the opposition of Spanish immigrants carrying on trade in the towns the Cubans failed to secure redress for their serious grievances.

(2) The Cuban Rebellion of 1895.

February, **1895.** Cuba again rebelled. The brutal methods of repression adopted by General Weyler provoked strong remonstrances from the United States, and the recall of Weyler and the grant of local government failed to conciliate the rebels.

February 15th, **1898.** The United States cruiser *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbour. The United States proclaimed the independence of Cuba and demanded the withdrawal of all Spanish troops.

July 3rd, **1898.** The Spanish fleet was destroyed by an American fleet in Santiago harbour.

July 16th, **1898.** The Americans took Santiago and soon afterwards sent a force to Porto Rico

(3) The Philippines.

The war spread to the Far East.

May 1st, **1898.** An American squadron routed the Spanish fleet.

August 12th, **1898.** Manila capitulated.

(4) The Treaty of Paris, 1898.

December 10th, **1898.** Spain gave up Porto Rico and Guam to the United States ; Cuba was declared

independent ; the Philippines were sold to the United States for 20,000,000 dollars.

B. Morocco.¹

1906. By the Algeciras Conference Spain shared with France the right of policing Morocco.

C. General.

The condition of Spain has improved under Alfonso XIII.

(1) Foreign Relations.

The Algeciras Conference and the improvement in the relations with Great Britain which resulted from the marriage in 1906 of Alfonso to Princess "Ena" of Battenberg, a grand-daughter of Queen Victoria, gave Spain a better political standing.

(2) Internal Peace.

The loss of Cuba, a blessing in disguise, left Spain free to continue the development of her material resources which had begun under Alfonso XII. The Conservatives have received the confidence of Christina and Alfonso and they have acted with moderation and wisdom.

(3) Some weaknesses.

Spanish administration is still weak and sometimes corrupt, and considerable dissatisfaction prevails among certain classes.

a. Agricultural labourers.

Owing to heavy taxation and the heavy cost of living caused by a rigid system of protection, the condition of the agricultural labourers is unsatisfactory and many have emigrated to South America, Cuba and the United States.

b. Industrial workmen.

The workmen of the towns and mining districts are discontented, particularly in Barcelona, where militant Socialists have stirred up serious riots.

(3) The Merchants.

Owing to the inefficiency and corruption of the administration merchants and manufacturers have demanded a larger measure of local self-government, and the demand for "regionalism" has been very strong in Catalonia.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, chap. x.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Seignobos), Heinemann, pp. 313-319.

PORTUGAL

Although Portugal has made some industrial progress since 1871, largely owing to the efforts of Pereira, who was Minister from 1871 to 1877, the greed of the professional politicians and the crushing weight of taxation have hampered her development and promoted the growth of Republicanism.

I. Colonies.

A. The Far East.

1887. Macao, which Portuguese traders had first rented from China in 1557, was recognised as a Portuguese possession by China.

1892. Owing to financial difficulties at home Portugal withdrew her minister from Japan, which assumed complete authority over the large number of Portuguese subjects in the country.

B. Africa.

The great object of Portugal was to unite her possessions in Angola with those in Mozambique by securing the valley of the Zambesi. This plan aroused the opposition of Great Britain, which was anxious to form a continuous strip of territory under British influence from the Cape to Cairo.

1875. A dispute between Great Britain and Portugal as to Delagoa Bay was referred to the arbitration of President MacMahon, who decided in favour of Portugal.

1889. An expedition under Pinto tried to establish Portuguese influence in the Zambesi Valley.

1890. The dispute between Portugal and Great Britain became acute. Lord Salisbury peremptorily demanded the recall of Portuguese troops from places under British influence.

1891. The dispute was settled by the delimitation of the Zambesi Valley. Portugal gained some territory, which she has signally failed to develop, and gave to Great Britain the right of pre-emption over her territory south of the Zambesi.

The Treaty of **1891** caused great disappointment in Portugal and added to the unpopularity of the ministry.

II. Growing Discontent.

A. Finance.

(1) Debt.

Owing largely to corrupt and inefficient government the national debt steadily increased.

1891. The Bank of Portugal suspended payment for sixty days.

1892. Suspension of payment of interest on two-thirds of the debt to foreign bondholders.

(2) King Carlos, 1899-1908.

The personal extravagance of the King added to the financial difficulties.

1907. Carlos suppressed parliamentary government and made Joao Franco dictator. But the personal demands of the King and the need of increasing the pay of the army prevented Franco from reducing the taxes and caused great disappointment in the country.

B. Reform.

1884. A revision of the electoral system provided for the representation of minorities.

1885. Abolition of hereditary peerages.

But the greed of ministers, who often made personal profit their main consideration, prevented any real improvement in political conditions.

C. The Clergy.

Queen Marie Amélie de Bourbon, the wealthy daughter of the Comte de Paris, was followed by Jesuits who came to Portugal from which they were excluded by law. This led to anti-clerical agitation in which the University of Coimbra took a leading part.

III. Republicanism.

Discontent strengthened the Republican party which, from 1881, strove to discredit the monarchy. The end of the Empire in Brazil in 1889 favoured their cause.

1891. Failure of a Republican rising in Oporto. But Republicanism continued to spread among the students and in the cities.

February 1st, 1908. Assassination of King Carlos and his eldest son in the streets of Lisbon. Narrow

escape of the Queen and Prince Manuel, who was proclaimed king. The Queen and Manuel fled to England.

October, 1910. Manuel II deposed.

1910. A Republic was established with two Chambers, the Lower elected by universal suffrage; ministers were made responsible to the Chambers.

References, see page 332.

HOLLAND

I. General.

A. The Monarchy.

Fidelity to the family of Orange, the obvious desire of the last two Dutch monarchs, William III, 1849-1890, and Wilhelmina, 1890, to promote the best interests of Holland, and the great tact displayed by Queen Emma the Regent from 1890 to 1898, have strengthened the position of the monarchy.

B. Political Parties.

(1) The Liberals.

The Liberals, of whom the Progressives were the extreme section, were united in support of non-sectarian schools. But they were divided on the question of electoral reform which led to the fall of a Liberal Ministry in 1887. In 1904 the party again became united and, in 1905, secured, with the help of seven Socialist votes, a narrow majority in the Chamber.

(2) The Catholics.

The Catholics strongly advocated religious education. Their opposition to universal personal military service overthrew Mackay's Coalition Ministry, 1888 to 1891.

(3) The Anti-Revolutionary Party.

The Anti-Revolutionary party was democratic and Calvinistic. It favoured reform and social legislation ; it strongly opposed secular education.

(4) Socialists.

In spite of the remarkable material progress made since 1870 by Holland, Socialism has gained ground. The Socialists advocated economic reform, universal suffrage and the abolition of the Upper Chamber.

II. Revision of the Fundamental Law, 1887.

The death in 1884 of Prince Alexander, King William's sole surviving son, which necessitated arrangements for the appointment of a Regent for Princess Wilhelmina who was born in 1880 ; the deficit caused by the cost of the Achin War ; the problems of the extension of the franchise and of new conditions of military service, made it necessary, in spite of the opposition of William III, to revise the Fundamental Law of 1814.

1887. The revision provided—

- (1) That the First Chamber should consist of fifty members elected by the Provincial Estates.
- (2) That the Second Chamber of one hundred members should be elected every fourth year by all males of twenty-three years of age and upwards possessing "signs of fitness and social well-being." This law increased the number of electors from 100,000 to 350,000.

III. The Suffrage.

Proposals further to extend the suffrage broke up the Liberal Party.

A. Tak van Poortvliet's Proposal, 1893.

1893. Tak van Poortvliet brought in a bill which would have practically established universal suffrage. He understood by "fitness" being able to work, and by "social well-being," not having received assistance from public charity. The moderate Liberals, led by van Houten, united with most of the Catholics and some of the Anti-Revolutionary party to oppose the bill.

B. Van Houten's Bill, 1896.

1894. The elections, in which the suffrage was the main issue, resulted in a victory for van Houten.

1896. Van Houten's Franchise Bill was passed. It provided—

- (1) That the Second Chamber should be elected by one hundred districts each returning one member, and not by the Provincial Estates.
- (2) That all males of at least twenty-five years of age should have a vote if they paid at least one guilder in direct taxation, or paid a minimum rent as householders or lodgers, or earned a minimum salary, or owned or hired ships of at least twenty-four tons, or held a minimum investment in public funds or Savings Banks or had passed certain examinations.

This law raised the number of electors to 700,000.

IV. The Schools.

Catholics and Anti-Revolutionists were anxious to repeal the law of 1857¹ and to make the public schools denominational.

A. The Law of 1878.

1878. The Catholic Bishops had urged parents not to send their children to non-sectarian schools. Kap-penye, the leader of the Progressives, refused to subsidise

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 538.

private schools but increased the salaries of teachers and made the State responsible for about one-third of the cost of schools.

B. The Law of 1889.

Mackay's Coalition Government subsidised private schools provided they had at least twenty-five scholars, satisfied official conditions and were conducted by a legally constituted society.

In 1890 there were 1300 private and 3000 public schools.

V. Military Service.

The Franco-German War led to a demand for the establishment of universal military service and the abolition of substitution. The Catholics strongly opposed the proposal.

1891. Failure of the Coalition Government to carry universal military service.

1898. Personal military service was established for all except students and ecclesiastics.

VI. Socialism.

Domela-Nieuwenhuis was the founder of the Dutch Socialist Party. Socialism spread in the large towns, particularly Amsterdam, and the extension of the suffrage in 1887 was partly due to a desire to induce the people to support the Government and to counteract Socialism.

1888. Domela-Nieuwenhuis was elected a deputy—the only Socialist candidate who was elected.

1903. A Democratic Labour Party had been formed and a general strike was proclaimed to compel the Government to grant their demands. The Government passed an Anti-Strike Bill and called out the troops. The strike collapsed.

1905. Seven Socialist deputies were elected.

VII. General.

A. National Prosperity.

The further reclamation of the estuary of the Y about 1875, the institution of a Ministry of Commerce and Waterways in 1877, the construction of the North Sea Canal, the remarkable extension of the trade of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and the maintenance of the fishing trade have promoted material prosperity although agriculture has been affected by Danish competition.

B Financial Problems.

The Achin War, which lasted, with intermissions, from 1873 to 1903, and was renewed in 1904, proved a serious drain on the Treasury. In 1886 and 1891 Government loans were used to meet deficits.

1891. Pierson, the Minister of Finance, established the national finances on a firm basis by imposing a tax on earned income and on capital above 13,000 florins. At the same time he lowered the land tax.

C. The Boer War.

The strong sympathy felt with the Boers and the warm welcome given by Queen Wilhelmina and the Dutch people to President Kruger temporarily embittered the relations between Holland and Great Britain.

D. Queen Wilhelmina.

August 31st, 1898. Queen Wilhelmina attained her majority. End of Queen Emma's Regency.

February 7th, 1901. Queen Wilhelmina married Prince Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, pp. 243-250.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Seignobos), pp. 241-243.

BELGIUM

I. Political Conditions.

A. Parties.

(1) The Liberals.

The Liberal party supported by the middle-class electorate held office from 1857 to 1870. Their policy was oligarchic and bureaucratic rather than progressive and they were unwilling to introduce social legislation or to alter the conditions of military service. They were strongly secularist and opposed religious teaching in schools.

About 1870 the Liberal party was seriously weakened. The *Progressists* demanded an extension of the suffrage; the Radicals advocated universal suffrage; the *Doctrinaires*, the most conservative element, opposed any change in the franchise. The *Doctrinaires* wished to maintain existing military arrangements but many Liberals wished to substitute a militia force for the army. The Flemings demanded the official recognition of the Flemish language; discontent arose among the Liberals of Antwerp owing to the new fortifications.

Owing to the abstention of the discontented sections the Liberals were defeated in 1870.

(2) The Catholics.

The Catholic party strongly advocated religious instruction in schools. They vigorously opposed the growing power of the Socialists and adopted social reform as part of their programme.

(3) The Socialists.

The Socialists rapidly gained strength and by about 1900 had become the chief opponents of the Catholics. The *Progressists* have tended to become Socialists; the *Doctrinaires* have joined the Catholics.

B. Leopold II, 1865-1909.

Leopold II exerted considerable influence upon the history of Belgium.

He insisted on the maintenance of a strong army in 1870 and thus helped to protect the integrity of Belgium during the Franco-German War.

He resisted the desire of the Ultramontanes to support the Pope against the King of Italy and, in 1884, insisted on the removal from the ministry of the Ultramontanes.

He strongly supported the development of commerce and industry, and the addition of the Congo State to Belgium was due solely to his pertinacity.

II. The Liberal Ministry, 1878-1884.

A Catholic Ministry held office from 1870 to 1871 and a Moderate Ministry from 1871 to 1878.

A. Liberal Revival.

The strong demand for the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope made by the Catholic bishops, who were appointed by the Pope and controlled the priests, and the belief that Catholic clergy directed the votes of their congregations, partly accounted for the revival of the Liberal Party. A union took place between the *Progressists* and *Doctrinaires* who formed the Liberal Federation in 1875 and gained considerable support in Flanders.

A Liberal Ministry held office from 1878 to 1884.

B. The School Law, 1878.

The Liberals made a determined effort to complete the secularisation of education and created a special Ministry of Education.

(1) The School Law.

a. Every commune was to establish a public primary school subject to State inspection.

- b. Religious teaching in school hours was strictly forbidden, but, when the parents desired, the clergy could give religious instruction to children in the school buildings out of school hours.

Religious instruction was "relegated to the care of families and the clergy of the various creeds."

- c. Private schools were allowed to continue.

(2) Opposition.

- a. Condemnation of secular schools and teachers.

The bishops ordered the clergy to refuse absolution to teachers who taught in the "godless schools" and to parents who allowed their children to attend.

- b. Establishment of private schools.

Parish priests were ordered to establish private schools; very liberal subscriptions from faithful Catholics led to the establishment of private schools in nearly every commune.

1881. Sixty-three per cent. of school children attended private schools and in Flanders over eighty per cent.

(3) The Pope.

The ministry, having no direct authority over the bishops, urged the Pope to check their action. Leo XIII refused to intervene.

1880. Recall of the Belgian Ambassador to the Vatican and dismissal of the Papal Nuncio from Belgium.

C. Other Anti-Clerical Measures.

The Liberals, irritated by the action of the bishops, in 1883 stopped the salaries of priests who were engaged solely in teaching, abolished the exemption of theological

students from military service and began to consider the question of limiting the number of convents.

III. The Catholics in Power from 1884.

A. The Fall of the Liberals.

Differences again broke out between the *Doctrinaires* and *Progressists* with regard to the suffrage ; the financial measures adopted to meet the increased expenditure on education caused great discontent ; strong resentment was aroused among the Catholics by the secularising policy of the Liberals.

1884. Return of a Catholic majority which remained in office for many years. Sixty-six Catholics and only three Liberals were returned.

B. The Schools.

(1) The Ministry of Education.

The Ministry of Education which the Liberals had established was abolished.

(2) The School Law, 1884.

a. Communes were authorised to maintain a public school or "adopt" a private school. The Commune was to meet a demand of twenty-five heads of families for a school of either type.

a. Many public schools were closed and the Catholic clergy regained the control of religious education.

(3) The Education Bill of 1895.

Religious education was made compulsory in schools and Catholic schools received a share of the State grant for education.

C. The Franchise.

The Constitution of 1831¹ was unsuited to changed conditions; *Progressists* demanded the suffrage for all who could read and write; Radicals and Socialists, demanded universal suffrage. In 1890 King Leopold urged the ministry to deal with the question.

(1) Nyssens' Electoral Law, 1893.

September 3rd, 1893. Albert Nyssens, a Catholic deputy, carried an Electoral Law which provided—

- a. That every male citizen over twenty-five years of age should have a vote.
- b. That an additional vote should be given to every father of a family, the owners of property worth two thousand francs, and graduates. No elector was to have more than three votes.

Nyssens' Electoral Law was an attempt to combine the programmes of different parties. It introduced universal suffrage but limited its force by establishing plural voting based partly on property, partly on educational qualifications.

(2) Provincial and communal franchises.

1895. The provincial and communal franchises were remodelled on the lines of Nyssens' Law.

(3) Proportionate voting.

1900. Introduction of a system of proportionate voting whereby each party received seats in proportion to the number of votes recorded in its favour.

D. Military Service.

The Belgian army was raised by conscription but a generous system of substitution enabled many to escape. A demand arose for new terms of service. The Catholics

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 141.

advocated the adoption of the Swiss system ; Socialists, *Progressists* and Radicals objected to substitution ; the King wished to adopt the Russian system.

1909. A new system encouraged voluntary service, restricted the number of soldiers on active service and limited the period.

E. Labour.

(1) Increasing power of Democracy.

Industry and commerce prospered exceedingly and the number of working men greatly increased.

a. Socialism.

Socialism, as taught by Marx, spread among Flemish workmen, particularly in Ghent and Brussels, and the Belgian Labour Party became an important factor in politics.

1895. The Socialists had twenty-nine representatives in the Chamber.

b. Republicanism.

In the Walloon country a revolutionary Republican Party appeared which was very strong in Liège and Namur. It included many miners and iron workers and was based on French Republicanism.

a. The Radical Party.

The Radical Party, although more constitutional, objected to the rule of property holders.

(2) Unrest.

The Socialists tried to advance their cause by strikes.

1886. The soldiers suppressed serious strikes at Liège and Namur.

April, 1893. A general strike was proclaimed in order to force the Government to grant universal suffrage. Serious riots took place at Mons, Brussels and Antwerp. The soldiers suppressed the strike.

1902. Failure of another general strike which had been proclaimed in order to force the Government to grant universal suffrage.

(3) Legislation.

The Catholics tried to improve the position of the working classes by social legislation. "The subject of social reform was always in the foreground of the settled policy of the Catholic party," which was frankly democratic.

It helped the workers by insisting on fair contracts and sanitary conditions of work; encouraged investment by the establishment of savings banks and life insurance and the erection of houses by the provision of State loans; it subsidised workmen's societies and promoted technical education.

1903. An old age pension scheme was established which enabled aged workmen to secure an annuity of 360 francs. Soon afterwards the number of old age pensioners numbered 200,000.

IV. The Congo.

A. Leopold and the Sovereignty of the Congo State.

(1) The International Association.

The personal efforts of King Leopold led to the formation of the Belgian colony of the Congo.

1876. King Leopold summoned at Brussels the Geographical Congress. This led to the establishment of the International Association which aimed at putting down the slave trade and opening up Central Africa.

1879. A Belgian expedition led by H. M. Stanley explored the Upper Congo.

Leopold had prevented the opposition of the French and Portuguese from hindering Belgian colonists from securing access to the coast.

(2) The Congress of Berlin.

1884. The Congress of Berlin established the Congo State, of which King Leopold was recognised as an independent sovereign, on condition that slavery should be suppressed and freedom of commerce and religion ensured.

(3) The approval of the Chambers.

April, **1885.** The Belgian Chambers, with some reluctance, recognised Leopold as independent sovereign of the Congo State.

B. Difficulties.

(1) Rubber.

The harshness with which the natives were treated, and particularly the brutality with which they were forced to provide vast quantities of rubber, aroused great indignation.

(2) Arab risings.

The Arabs strongly resented the attempts to suppress the slave trade.

1892. An Arab rising on the Upper Congo led to the massacre of Europeans.

March, **1894.** Failure of an attack of the Mahdists on the Upper Nile.

All Arab risings were suppressed, but with considerable difficulty.

(3) Finance.

The cost of maintaining and developing the Congo State was heavy and the Chambers were unwilling to accede to Leopold's request for financial help. To secure their assistance he left the Congo State to Belgium in his will.

1889. The Congo State asked for an annual subsidy of 1,500,000 francs from the Chambers.

1890. The Chambers lent 5,000,000 francs at once and 2,000,000 free of interest for ten years to develop railways and open up the Upper Congo.

1896. A further loan of 5,600,000 francs was granted by a narrow majority.

C. The Congo a Belgian Colony.

The Congo made rapid progress. From **1887** to **1893** the value of exports increased from two to nearly fifty-five million francs.

1881. Stanley founded Leopoldville.

1898. Completion of the railway to Stanley Pool above the Cataracts.

1909. The Congo State was handed over by Leopold and became a Belgian Colony.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, pp. 250-256.

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NORWAY AND SWEDEN

I. Internal History of Sweden.

Largely owing to the wise policy of her excellent King Oscar II (**1872-1907**), Sweden adopted a policy of strict neutrality and was not involved in any of the grave political problems that agitated Europe in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The attempt of Russia to incorporate Finland from **1899** to **1905**¹ aroused strong resentment, and the demand of Norway for political independence made a war between Norway and Sweden seem imminent in **1905**; but in both cases war was avoided.

¹ Page 249.

A. The Diet.**(1) Up to 1905.**

The two Chambers, which were established by the Reform of 1865¹ and first met in 1867, failed to work harmoniously. The Agricultural Party, consisting largely of peasants, dominated the Second Chamber and strongly opposed the First Chamber which was a House of Peers. Although the supremacy ultimately secured in the First Chamber by the landowners, whose interests coincided to some extent with those of the peasants, mitigated the hostility between the Chambers, their opposition distinctly hampered political progress and gave the Government an opportunity of taking advantage of their acute party strife. The personal influence of Oscar II strengthened the position of the monarchy and in Sweden the Constitution "did not develop into a true parliamentary government although the tendency was in that direction."

(2) From 1905.

The development of Radical ideas in the large towns led to the formation of a Liberal Party which secured supremacy in the Second Chamber. In opposition to the Liberals the landed interest in both Chambers formed a Conservative Party.

The growth of industry was followed by the spread of Socialism and Socialist deputies were returned to the Diet.

B. National Defence.

The European wars from 1850 to 1871 led to a demand that the army and navy should be strengthened. The peasants refused to vote the necessary supplies unless the burdens on land were lightened.

1885. The period of military training was extended and about one-third of the burdens on land were remitted.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 549.

1892. Further extension of military service; all burdens on land were remitted.

1901. Universal compulsory service was established; the Swedish fleet was strengthened.

C. Protection.

Largely owing to the depression in agriculture and the desire to assist home industries Sweden, which had been a strong supporter of Free Trade, adopted Protection.

1888. Heavy duties placed on imported grain and, in **1892**, on imported manufactured goods.

D. The Extension of the Franchise.

After the settlement of the question of national defence the Liberals took up the question of the franchise.

1909. Establishment of universal suffrage, payment of members and the reform of the municipal franchise.

This arrangement seemed likely to lead to a new division of the deputies. The Socialists, who were likely to secure predominance in the Lower House, would be in opposition to the landowners who would be supreme in the Upper.

E. Commercial Progress.

In spite of occasional set-backs Sweden has made remarkable economic progress since **1870**.

(1) Agriculture and forestry.

Agriculture has prospered owing to the use of better methods, to the development of stock-rearing and to intensive cultivation. There has been a great increase in the export of timber.

(2) Mining.

The development of the Norrland iron ore fields has greatly added to the wealth of the country.

(3) Industry.

The increased use of water power as a means of generating electricity, the extension of railways and of the telegraph and telephone systems, have facilitated the growth of industry ; from 1872 to 1907 the number of workmen increased fourfold and their output more than sixfold.

The rapid increase in the artisan population prevented the Government from dealing rapidly with the new social problems that arose and, in consequence, Socialism has spread rapidly since about 1880. This has led to a considerable number of strikes and, in 1909, a general strike seriously hampered industry.

II. The Dissolution of the Union between Norway and Sweden.

The growth of national sentiment in Norway strengthened the demand for independence ; the Norwegians particularly resented the provision of the Act of 1815¹ that the Swedish Foreign Minister and Consuls were to act for Norway.

The difficulty was aggravated by the fact that, while in Sweden the King exercised the full rights of a constitutional sovereign, in Norway he possessed only a suspensive veto and had not the right to dissolve the *Storting*.

A. Increased Power of the *Storting* under Oscar II.

The peasants and Radicals united to form the Liberal Party which, from 1871, under the leadership of Johan Sverdrup, worked steadily for the dissolution of the Union.

1871. Introduction of annual *Storthings*.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 552.

(1) A Question of Fundamental Law.

1872. The *Storting* resolved to allow members of the Royal Council to take part in its debates. This resolution involved the alteration of the Act of Union of 1814 and the *Rikssakt* of 1815 and therefore required the assent of the King. Oscar II refused his assent in 1872 and also in 1874, 1877 and 1880, when the *Storting* again passed its resolution.

1880. The *Storting* declared that, in spite of the King's action, the resolution had become a Fundamental Law ; the Government refused to publish it.

February, 1884. A packed tribunal deprived the Prime Minister and seven of his colleagues of office for their refusal. The King failed to secure a Conservative Government and was compelled to call the Liberals under Sverdrup to office.

"The *Storting* had carried its point, overthrown the Ministry that had opposed it, and entrusted its own leaders with the government of the country."¹

(2) The Norwegian Army.

1885. The Norwegian Military Service Act made most of the army available only for home defence and so seriously weakened the army of the Union.

B. The Final Struggle.

(1) The Consular Service.

1903. The Norwegian Liberals demanded a separate Consular Service. The Swedish *Riksdag* agreed on condition that all Consuls should be under the authority of the Swedish Foreign Minister.

1905. The Swedes finally refused to accept this condition and resolved to appoint a separate Norwegian Service. The King refused his consent, the Liberal Ministry resigned and the King failed to form another ministry.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XII, page 284.

June 7th, 1905. The *Storting* declared that as the King had failed to establish a new ministry "the union with Sweden under one king is dissolved as the result of the king's cessation to perform the functions of a Norwegian king."

(2) Danger of War.

The Swedish *Riksdag* had shown a conciliatory spirit and had made many concessions in order to preserve the Union. The action of the *Storting* aroused strong resentment. On both sides the border had been fortified and military forces strengthened. Both nations were embittered and at one time war seemed imminent.

C. The Dissolution, 1905.

October 26th, 1905. King Oscar II formally assented to the terms of dissolution drawn up jointly by the *Riksdag* and *Storting*.

(1) Norway and Sweden were to be separated.

The Norwegians, by a plebiscite, decided that their government should be a monarchy, and the *Storting* elected, as King Haakon VII, Prince Charles of Denmark, who had married Princess Maud, the youngest daughter of King Edward VII.

(2) A neutral zone, which was not to be fortified or occupied by the troops of either country, was established between Norway and Sweden.

(3) Laplanders were allowed to pasture reindeer on either side of the frontier.

(4) The Swedes were guaranteed the use of the port of Narvik for the export of ore from the Norrland ironfield.

D. National Security.

The dissolution of the Union increased the danger of foreign intervention in Scandinavia. Norway and Sweden tried to ensure their territorial integrity by making treaties with the Powers.

1907. Norway made a guaranteeing treaty with Great Britain, Russia, Germany and France.

1908. By the Baltic and North Sea Conventions Sweden and the leading Powers guaranteed the possessions held by each country around these seas.

DENMARK

Strong feeling against Germany was aroused by the loss of Schleswig Holstein in **1864**,¹ and by the action of Prussia and Austria in cancelling, in **1878**,² the clause in the Treaty of Prague, **1866**, which provided that North Schleswig might be reunited to Denmark if the inhabitants voted in favour of reunion. The opening of the Kiel Canal in **1895** diminished the importance of Denmark which no longer controlled the entrance to the Baltic. But the relations between Denmark and Germany improved and both agreed to the Baltic and North Sea Conventions of **1908**.

I. Internal Development.

A. Farming.

Since **1866** much of the moorland has been reclaimed; stockfarming has greatly increased and dairy produce has become a most lucrative export.

B. Industry and Commerce.

Danish manufactures have greatly increased.

The United Steamship Company of Denmark, the foundation, in **1868**, of the port of Esbjerg and the development of Copenhagen have promoted external commerce while the extension of railways has assisted internal trade.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. IV, page 377.

² Page 145.

II. Political Problems.

A. The *Folkthing*.

After the settlement of the Constitution in 1866 a strong Liberal Party was formed which endeavoured to secure control of the *Folkthing* and to make it the dominant part of the constitution. They were opposed by the Conservatives, supported by King Christian IX (1863-1906), who resented any attempt to diminish the political importance of the *Landthing*.

1885-1894. The *Folkthing* tried to force the Government to accept its views by refusing to grant supplies, but Jacob Estrup, Chief Minister from 1875 to 1894, carried on the administration by provisional acts issued by the King.

1894. Estrup retired. A moderate Conservative Government took office and political strife became less bitter.

1901. Establishment of a Liberal Government.

B. Labour.

The development of industry has been accompanied by the spread of Socialism; serious differences have arisen between the middle and working classes, but attempts have been made to remedy social grievances by legislation.

1891. Old Age Pensions were established.

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